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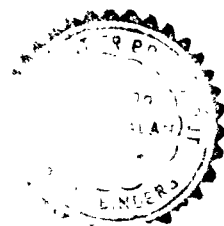
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1636

AND

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DYNASTIC CONTINUITY IN VIJAYANAGARA HISTORY.

By B. A. SALETORÉ, Ph.D. (LOND.).

IN the following paper I shall make an attempt to trace the relationship between the Âraviḍu, Tuluva, Sâluva and Saṅgama dynasties which ruled over the Vijayanagara Empire, and the connection between the last one and the Hoysala House. We are not concerned here with the question whether or not the founders of Vijayanagara were of Karnâṭaka or Telugu origin.

I. Hoysala-Saṅgama Continuity.

In the year of their accession to power the five sons of Saṅgama gave public demonstration to their relationship with the royal family that preceded them in supremacy in Southern India, in an epigraph dated 1346 A.D., in which they recorded their pilgrimage to the famous Śrīngēri *maṭha*. Among other interesting facts mentioned in this important inscription, we find Ballappa Daṇṇâyaka given the epithet of *aliya* or son-in-law.¹ An inquiry into the antecedents of this person settles once for all the question of the relationship of the sons of Saṅgama with the rulers of the Hoysala-*vaṃśa*. But in tracing the lineage of Vallappa or Ballappa Daṇṇâyaka one cannot help entering into a digression in order to examine the validity of a statement made by the Rev. Fr. Henry Heras, who writes in his *Beginnings of Vijayanagara History* thus about Vallappa :—"This Vallapa-daṇṇâyaka, the son of the great minister of Ballala III, who became the great minister in the palace of the said Emperor, whose nephew he was on his mother's side, had married a daughter of Harihara I, as he is called Harihara's Aliya; and from this marriage we know of a son named Tanan."²

The epigraphs prove that Vallappa was the *aliya* of Harihara I., but do not suggest in the least that he was the nephew of Ballala "on his mother's side." The reason why Fr. Heras has arrived at an untenable conclusion is probably due to the fact that he has confounded two persons who bore almost the same name and held almost the same office.³ These were Dâḍiya Sômaya (or, as he was also called, Sômeya) and Mayduna Sômaya.

The following considerations will invalidate any such identification based on a mere similarity in names :—

(a) The titles or *birudas* which the two assumed, and

(b) Their relative position in the history of the times.

(a) The *birudas* of Mayduna (i.e., sister's husband) Sômaya were the following :— 'Champion over princes who are very fond of their bodies'; 'champion over princes who, having made a gift to-day, say "No" to-morrow'; 'champion over princes who, having made a gift, brood on it.'

He is also called a Daṇṇâyaka.⁴

Dâḍiya Sômaya is styled a Daṇṇâyaka⁵ but is more commonly called a *pradhâna* (minister)⁶ and a *mahâ-pradhâna*.⁷

¹ *Epigraphia Carnatica*, VI, Sg. 1, p. 92, Text, p. 348.

² Heras, *The Beginnings of Vijayanagara History*, p. 92.

³ Heras, *Ibid.*, pp. 90-91.

⁴ *Mysore Archæological Report for 1912-13*, p. 40.

⁵ *Ep. Car.*, X, Mr. 28, p. 163.

⁶ *Ibid.*, Ht. 43, p. 92, Text, p. 206.

⁷ *Ibid.*, Ht. 75, Text, pp. 45.

(b) *Their position—*

Mayduna Sômaya Daṇṇâyaka fought against Leṅkampela of Hoḷalakere in 1303 A.D.⁸ In the same year we see him as the governor of Bemmatturu-durga (mod. Chitaldroog), and in a battle with Kaṁpila Dêva, the general of the Seuṇa army, he lost his life.⁹ 1303 A.D. is, therefore, the last date for Mayduna Sômaya Daṇṇâyaka.

But Dâḍiya Sômaya Daṇṇâyaka lived for 39 years more ! A record dated (*śaka-varsha*) 1240 *neya Kālayukta-samvatsarada Māgha śu.* 12(=1318 A.D., Saturday, 14th February) informs us that as *mahā-pradhāna* or great minister, he, together with Māradêvi-dêva, granted to Jôgai Akkalāḍu-pattāṇa-svāmi Parepa Śeṭṭi a *śāsana* which is unfortunately illegible.¹⁰ In 1339 A.D., according to another effaced inscription, Dâḍiya Sômaya with Rāyaṇa and Bāṇa Jallappa-daṇṇâyaka made a grant which is also illegible.¹¹

The confusion between the two persons, Dâḍiya Sômaya and Mayduna Sômaya, arises not only because of their names but because of the fact that one of their sons was also called by an identical name. Mayduna Sômaya's son was called Siṅgeya Daṇṇâyaka, and Dâḍiya Sômaya's son was also called Siṅgeya Daṇṇâyaka. But these two persons were not the same for the following reasons.

Mayduna Sômaya's son Siṅgeya Daṇṇâyaka died in 1322 A.D., while fighting for his master Vira Pāṇḍya against the latter's own son Samudra Pāṇḍya. His *birudas*, we may incidentally note, were the following: 'An adamantine cage to refugees'; 'protector of refugees'; 'an elephant goad to warriors'; 'champion over youths who are fond of their bodies.'

But the last date for Dâḍiya Sômaya's son Siṅgeya Daṇṇâyaka is 1338 A.D. He was ruling over Śiṅguṇi in 1302 A.D. together with Vaichaya Nâyaka.¹² In about 1330 A.D. he is called one of the ministers of Ballāḷa III.¹³ He is called by the same name in 1331 A.D.¹⁴ But in 1337 A.D. he is styled a *mahā-pradhāna* (great minister).¹⁵ In a record of the next year, too, he is given the same high position.¹⁶

Siṅgeya Daṇṇâyaka, who was thus the son of Dâḍiya Sômaya Daṇṇâyaka,¹⁷ had a younger brother called Vallappa Daṇṇâyaka. We gather this from records of 1336, 1338, 1342 and 1343 A.D.¹⁸ To these we must add those epigraphs which clearly say that he was the son of Dâḍiya Sômaya. These range from 1333 to 1346 A.D.¹⁹ Among these is one

⁸ *My. Arch. Rep.*, 1912-13, p. 45.

⁹ *My. Arch. Rep. for 1912-13*, p. 40.

¹⁰ *Ep. Car.*, IX, Kn. 69, p. 129, Text, p. 129; Swamikannu, *The Indian Ephemeris*, IV, p. 238. Rice gives the date as 1339 A.D.

¹¹ *Ep. Car.*, IX, Ht. 43, *loc. cit.* I may incidentally note that this Dâḍiya Sômaya was not the same as Sômarasa whom Fr. Heras identifies with the former (*Beginnings*, p. 91). Sômarasa is called *aramaneya pradhāna* (house-minister) in 1318 A.D. *Ep. Car.*, IX, Cp. 73, p. 146. Since an *aramaneya-pradhāna* and a *mahā-pradhāna* have never been the same in Karnaṭaka history, we may presume that Sômarasa was altogether a different person from Dâḍiya Sômaya. The references given in this connection in the *Beginnings* to "Hk" in *Ep. Car.* should all be to "Ht."

¹² *Ep. Car.*, IX, An. 80, p. 118. See *ibid.*, Ht. 139, p. 106, for Tamma Siṅgeya Daṇṇâyaka.

¹³ *Ibid.*, Ht. 56, p. 94.

¹⁴ *Ibid.*, Ht. 140, p. 106.

¹⁵ *Ep. Car.*, X, Bp. 63, p. 151. He is called here Data Siṅgeya, evidently an error for Dati Siṅgeya.

¹⁶ *Ibid.*, Bp. 10, p. 137.

¹⁷ *Ep. Car.*, IX, An. 84, p. 119.

¹⁸ *Ibid.*, Ht. 134, p. 105, Ht. 90, p. 98; *Ep. Car.*, X, Bp. 10, p. 137, Mr. 16, p. 160.

¹⁹ *Ep. Car.*, X, Mr. 28, p. 163; *Ep. Car.*, VI, Cm. 105, pp. 49-50; *Ep. Car.*, IX, Ht. 75, p. 96.

which tells us that Dāḍiya Sōmaya Daṇṇāyaka himself was "the minister descended from that king (Ballāla III) (*lasya rājānvaya*)."²⁰ The conclusion which may be drawn from this is that Vallappa Daṇṇāyaka was, therefore, also of Hoysala descent.

But this conclusion of ours needs modification, since there are other records, issued by Vallappa himself and by responsible officers of Ballāla III, which call him the younger brother of Singeya Daṇṇāyaka, who is called the son of that Hoysala monarch. The epigraphs which contain this information are mostly in Tamil. They date from 1328 to 1339 A.D. We are told the following in these records :—... *Vīra Vallāla Dévar kumārar Dāḍi Singe-daṇṇāyakkar tambiyar Vallappa Daṇṇāyakar*.²¹

How can we reconcile these apparently conflicting statements that Vallappa was the son of Dāḍiya Sōmaya, and that he was brother of Singeya, who was the son of Ballāla III ? I confess it is difficult to understand these statements except on the following supposition. We know that, in the course of the Muhammadan invasions, Vira Ballāla III's son, Prince Vira Virūpāksha Ballāla, was captured by the enemy, and that his return to the capital was commemorated by a remission of taxes in 1313 A.D.²² During the absence of Virūpāksha Ballāla, or for some considerations unknown to us, Ballāla III may have adopted Singeya Daṇṇāyaka as his son or crown-prince. This explains why only Singeya, and not Vallappa, is called the son of Ballāla III.

However that may be, Vallappa's position in Hoysala history deserves notice. He continued to hold the high office of *mahā-pradhāna*, which his father Dāḍiya Sōmaya had held before him in 1342 A.D.²³ He is called the chief minister of Ballāla III in 1343 A.D.²⁴ But, as narrated above, he is called the *aḷiya* of Harihara I in 1346 A.D. Now, when did he become an *aḷiya* of Harihara I ? According to the Rev. Fr. Heras, he married a daughter of Harihara "earlier than this date" (i.e., that referring to the death of Ballāla III, or, in other words, before 1343 A.D.)²⁵ But I am inclined to place the date of this marriage—if it took place at all—in 1346 A.D. No inscription before 1346 A.D. ever refers to him as *aḷiya*, but in that year there are at least three records which call him *aḷiya* Vallappa. One of these is the Śrīngēri record already cited above. The second is in Tamil, and it calls him *Ariya* (அரிய) Vallappa Daṇṇāyaka.²⁶ Evidently the word *ariya* is a Tamil form of the Kannaḍa *aḷiya*. A copper-plate grant in the Śrīngēri *matha*, also dated in the same year, confirms the evidence of these records.²⁷

From the above considerations we may conclude that Vallappa was the son of Dāḍiya Sōmaya, that, therefore, he was directly connected with the Hoysala dynasty, and that he was the *aḷiya* of Harihara I.²⁸

²⁰ *Ep. Car.*, IX, Ht. 43, p. 92, Text, p. 206.

²¹ *Ep. Car.*, IX, P. II, Mr. 10, 18, pp. 94, 97, *Ep. Car.*, IX, Ht. 104, p. 101, n. 1, Text, p. 52 ; Ht. 96, Text, p. 48 ; *My. Arch. Report for 1913-14*, pp. 44-5.

²² *Ep. Car.*, VII, Sh. 68, p. 26.

²³ *Ep. Car.*, IX, Ht. 90, p. 98.

²⁴ *Ibid.*, Ht. 75, 96.

²⁵ Heras, *Beginnings*, p. 92. Fr. Heras also writes : "... and from this marriage we know of a son named Tanan." (*Ibid.*) While it is true that the record gives us the name of Tanan, it does not say anything about the marriage. Nothing about the marriage can be made out from this disjointed epigraph. See *Ep. Car.*, X, Mr. 18, p. 160.

²⁶ *Ep. Car.*, X, P. II, Mr. 61, p. 104.

²⁷ *My. Arch. Report for 1916*, p. 57.

²⁸ We cannot determine the exact relationship in this connection too, since *aḷiya* may stand for son-in-law or nephew.

II. Saṅgama-Sāḷuva Continuity. (A)

Winning over Vallappa to their side was a diplomatic achievement which had its effect on the rise of the sons of Saṅgama in the Kārṇāṭaka. We shall not enter into this question, but shall now describe how by another, and an equally diplomatic stroke, these new rulers strengthened their position in the land. This was by a dynastic marriage with the ancient Sāḷuvas, whose history we shall describe in detail in a subsequent paper. Meanwhile we may observe the source which gives us this piece of information. In a drama called *Nārāyaṇavilāsa*, written by Prince Virūpāksha, grandson of Rāma and (grand)son of Bukka, we are told that Harihara married a princess called Mallā Dēvī.

The verse upon which this is based is the following :—

P(a)utro Bukka-narēndrasya dauhitro Rāma-bhūpatēḥ |
Vidyatē hi Virūpāksho rāja-Harihara-ātmajaḥ ²⁹

Rao Bahadur Venkayya identified the Rāma Dēva mentioned in the above drama with the Yādava ruler Rāmachandra.³⁰ But the late Mr. T. A. Gōpinātha Rāo rightly disproved the contention of the late Mr. Venkayya on the ground that the disparity in the ages of the Yādava ruler Rāmachandra (1271-1309 A.D.) and Harihara II (1375-1406 A.D.) made it impossible for us to accept the identification thus suggested.³¹ But Mr. Gōpināth Rāo failed to tell us who this Rāma Dēva was. I identify him with Sāḷuva Rāma Dēva, son of Sāḷuva Kāya Dēva. He is mentioned in a record dated 1384 A.D. as fighting against the Muhammadans at Warangal and losing his life, evidently in the siege of Kōṭṭa-kōṇḍa.³² There is nothing improbable in Harihara II having married a daughter of Sāḷuva Rāma Dēva. If this is accepted, we find that the Saṅgama dynasty was also connected with the Sāḷuva family.

Saṅgama-Sāḷuva Continuity. (B)

The marriage of Harihara II with Mallā Dēvī marks one step in the direction of the Saṅgama-Sāḷuva alliance. When we come to the times of Dēva Rāya II (1419-1446 A.D.) we meet with another link which knit the ancient family of the Sāḷuvas with the new dynasty of Vijayanagara. A record dated 1430 A.D. tells us that "his (i.e., Dēva Rāya II's) elder sister Harimā's husband was Sāḷuva Tippa Dēva, an ornament to the Lunar race, a royal swan at the feet of Kāṁsāri (Kṛishṇa)." ³³ Round this person of Sāḷuva Tippa centre certain considerations. Who was he, and what brought about this alliance between the Saṅgama and Sāḷuva houses? We can only conjecture about the latter: political necessity coupled with a desire to strengthen his Yādava descent may have induced Dēva Rāya II to give his sister in marriage to Sāḷuva Tippa Dēva. These suppositions are less interesting than those relating to the identity of Sāḷuva Tippa.

Bearing the above in mind, we now turn to the Telugu works entitled *Varāhapurāṇam* and *Jaiminī Bhāratam*. According to these, and also according to inscriptions, the Sāḷuva family traced its origin to Yadu. The earliest historical personage mentioned in the *Varāhapurāṇam* is Vaṅki Dēva. From him descended Guṇḍa, who had six sons, of whom Sāḷuva Maṅgu was the greatest. This remarkable general needs a separate treatment for himself. Sāḷuva Maṅgu had six sons, the eldest amongst whom was Gauta. He had four sons named Guṇḍa, Sāḷuva, Boppa and Tippa. The *Jaiminī Bhāratam* eulogises Tippa, whose *birudas* were Mīsaragaṇḍa, Kāṭhāri Sāḷuva and Pañchaghaṇṭānīnāda.³⁴

²⁹ Seshagiri Sastry, *Report on Sanskrit and Tamil MSS. for 1896-97*, p. 90.

³⁰ *Ep. Report for the Southern Circle for 1899*, p. 22; *Ep. Ind.*, III, p. 225; *Ep. Ind.*, V, *Ad. Cor.*, p. v; *Ep. Ind.*, VII, p. 299.

³¹ *Ep. Ind.*, XV, p. 11.

³² *Ep. Car.*, XII, Ck. 15, p. 75, Text, p. 212.

³³ *Ep. Car.*, XI, Cd. 29, p. 9.

³⁴ Ramayya Pantulu, *Ep. Ind.*, VII, pp. 75-77.

This youngest son of Gauta, as Mr. Venkayya rightly suggested,³⁵ may be identified with Sāluva Tippa, the brother-in-law of Dēva Rāya II. The validity of this supposition rests on the similarity of the titles given to Sāluva Tippa in the Telugu works and in the few inscriptions we have of him (*Mīsaragaṇḍa*, and *Kaṭṭāri Sāluva*), and on the fact whether or not he was a contemporary of Dēva Rāya II. We know that Tippa's grandfather, as related above, was Sāluva Maṅgu,³⁶ the famous general of Kaṁpaṇa Oḍeyar, the conqueror of Madura. Sāluva Maṅgu may also have been a contemporary of Harihara II, and his son Gauta, of Dēva Rāya I, the son of Harihara II. This brings Tippa to the reign of Dēva Rāya II. Our surmise is based on an inscription dated Śaka 1364, expired Durmati (1441 A.D.), which informs us that the *Mahāmaṇḍalēśvara Gaṇḍakaṭṭāri* Sāluva Tippaya Dēva Mahārāja remitted certain specified taxes in favour of the Kharapurīśvara temple at Tiruppārkaḍal in the North Arcot district, in the reign of Dēva Rāya Mahārāja.³⁷ His last date may have been 1449 A.D. This is inferred from a record dated Śaka 1371, Śukla, Māgha, Śu. 5, Thursday,³⁸ which informs us that Daḷavāyi Mallinēningāru constructed the temple of Kēsava Perumāl in Duggumbādu, Guntur district, on behalf of the village (?) for the merit of Mīsaragaṇḍa Kaṭṭāri Sāluva Tippaya Dēva Mahārāja. His inscriptions, which range from 1441 to 1449 A.D., therefore, enable us to assert that he was a contemporary of Dēva Rāya II.³⁹

Saṅgama-Sāluva Continuity. (C)

We now continue with the Telugu works *Varāhapurāṇam* and *Jaiminī Bhārātam* with a view to ascertain the genealogy of the famous usurper Sāluva Nṛsimha. Sāluva Tippa's eldest brother, as mentioned above, was Guṇḍa, whose two sons were Timma and Sāluva Nṛsimha. About Timma there is an epigraph dated Śaka 1385, Subhānu (1463 A.D.) which calls him Timmarāja-dēva Mahārāja Oḍeyar, son of Guṇḍarāja Oḍeyar. This Tamil record found in the Venkaṭēśvara Perumāl temple at Tirumala, contains a gift for the merit of Narasiṅgarāja Oḍeyar.⁴⁰ We are not sure whether we have to identify the Narasiṅga Oḍeyar mentioned in this inscription with the usurper Nṛsimha of Vijayanagara history, whose accession to the throne is still a matter of dispute.⁴¹ Perhaps the Narasiṅgarāja mentioned above may have been the younger brother of Guṇḍa, and, therefore, one of the uncles of Timma, mentioned in the Telugu works merely under the name of Sāluva. This is only a supposition. We proceed, however, with the history of Sāluva Nṛsimha.

The late Mr. Kṛṣṇa Śāstri wrote the following on Sāluva Nṛsimha: "The Nagar epigraph, which is dated in Śaka 1378, Dhātri, seems to refer to the Sāluva *Mahāmaṇḍalēśvara* Narasiṅgadēva-Ma(hārāja). This is the earliest reference to Narasiṅga in inscriptions."⁴² Before we proceed to examine this assertion of Mr. Kṛṣṇa Śāstri, we may note that in this inscription, found in the Nāgavaṇṇa Perumāl temple at Nagar, South Arcot district, he is

³⁵ *Ep. Report for 1905*, pp. 54-55.

³⁶ On Sāluva Maṅgu and his times read Gaṅgādēvi, *Madhurāvijayam*, Int. p. 35 (Ed. Srinivasa-Harihara Sastri); *The Sources of Vijayanagara History, Jaiminī Bhārātam*, pp. 29-30; *ibid.*, xx, *Kaṁparāya-charitam*, pp. 23-25; 52 of 1905; *Ep. Report for 1905*, pp. 54-55; Heras, *The Araviḍu Dynasty of Vijayanagara*, p. 105.

³⁷ 703 of 1904. Another record dated Śaka 136 (3) Durmati merely mentions the fact of his having set up a *devajasthambha* in the Vaṭāranyēśvara temple at Tiruvalaṅgādu in the same district, without mentioning his overlord.—498 of 1905.

³⁸ This corresponds to 1449 A.D., January, Wednesday 4th. The week day does not correspond. 771 of 1922; Swamikannu, *Indian Ephemeris*, V, p. 100.

³⁹ He seems to have lived till 1463 A.D. according to Rice, *Ep. Car.*, X. Intr., xxxv.

⁴⁰ 249 of 1904; Swamikannu, *ibid.*, V, p. 128.

⁴¹ Ramayya Pantulu, *Ep. Ind.*, VII, p. 76 seq., Venkayya, *Ep. Report for 1904*, pp. 15-16; *Ep. Report for 1905*, p. 51; *Ep. Report for 1923*, p. 118.

⁴² *Ep. Report for 1911*, p. 84. Prof. Rangachari merely repeats this error in his *Topographical List of Inscriptions in the Madras Presidency*, I, 732, p. 213.

called *Mahāmaṇḍalēśvara Mēdinimisāra* Narasiṅga Dēva Mahārāja.⁴³ The above inscription is not, however, the earliest record of the Śāḷuva Nṛsiṃha. He is mentioned as the son of Guṇḍaya Dēva Mahārāja in an epigraph found in the Venkatēśvara Perumāl temple at Tirumala, North Arcot district. This record is dated Śaka 1373, Dhātṛi. The Śaka year corresponds to 1451 A.D., but the cyclic year does not correspond.⁴⁴ From the fact that Śāḷuva Nṛsiṃha's records appear from 1451 till 1467 A.D. in the modern North Arcot district⁴⁵ we may assume that he was in that region probably in the capacity of a provincial governor. He may have been transferred to the northern districts in about 1477 A.D. for reasons not known to us for the present. We infer that he was in the northern districts somewhere in that year from an unfinished record dated Śaka 1399, Hēmalambi, found at Attirala, Cuddapah district. This epigraph relates that Anṇamarasayya came to Araturēvulu, and set right certain specified matters in the Kṛtṛiśvara, Paraśurāmēśvara and Bhairava temples, for the merit of Narasiṅgayya Dēva Mahārāja.⁴⁶ I shall not enter into the question whether the absence of the sovereign's name in the record need necessarily be interpreted as meaning that Śāḷuva Nṛsiṃha was an independent ruler. Such is the opinion of some⁴⁷ to whose views it is not always possible to subscribe.

The relationship of Śāḷuva Nṛsiṃha to the Saṅgama family seems to have been more or less well known to the people. This accounts for the following observation by Nuniz :— "One of his (Pedarao's) captains who was called Narsymgua, who was in some manner akin to him, seeing his mode of life and knowing how ill it was for the kingdom that he should live and reign, though all was not yet lost, determined to attack him, and seize on his lands ; which scheme he at once put into force."⁴⁸ The fact that Śāḷuva Nṛsiṃha, and not any one of the numerous powerful lords of the kingdom, set aside the incompetent monarch whom Nuniz calls Pedarao (Praudha-Rāya ?), suggests that he alone had the best claim to the throne. In the above remark of Nuniz there may be a reference to the indirect relationship of Śāḷuva Nṛsiṃha to the Saṅgama family through Śāḷuva Tippa.

III. Śāḷuvas and Tuḷuvas. (A)

Before we revert to the successors of Śāḷuva Tippa, we may note the descent of Kṛṣṇa Dēva Rāya, since this helps us to solve the question of the Śāḷuva-Tuḷuva alliance. According to inscriptions and literature, as is well known, the progenitor of the so-called Tuḷuva line was Timma, who is styled a ruler famous among the Tuḷuva kings. He had by his wife Dēvakī a son called Īśvara, whose wife was called Bukkamma. Their son was known as Narasa, who had three wives—Tippāji, the mother of Vīra Narasiṃha ; Nāgala Dēvī, of Kṛṣṇa Dēva Rāya ; and Ōbāmbikā, of Achyuta.⁴⁹

We start with Timma, the earliest known figure in the Tuḷuva dynasty. It is a significant fact that in the Vijayanagara inscriptions discovered so far, the name of the person who preceded Timma is not given. On the other hand, Timma's descent, as we shall presently state, is traced directly to a mythological figure. Obviously this is impossible, for we know that Timma was the great-grandfather of Kṛṣṇa Dēva Rāya. We know too that both Īśvara Nāyaka and Narasa Nāyaka were contemporaries of Śāḷuva Narasiṅga. This is

⁴³ 304 of 1910. The ruler Praudha-Dēva Rāya Mahārāja is also mentioned.

⁴⁴ 253 of 1904 ; Swamikannu, *Ind. Ephemeris*, V, p. 104.

⁴⁵ Cf. 250 of 1904 dated Śaka 1389, Sarvajit (1467 A.D.) recording a gift by the same to the same temple.

⁴⁶ 405 of 1911.

⁴⁷ G. Veṅkōba Rāo, *Ep. Report for 1923*, p. 118 ; 112 of 1923.

⁴⁸ Sewell, *A Forgotten Empire*, pp. 306-307.

⁴⁹ *Ep. Car.*, VII, Sh. 1, p. 1 ; *Ep. Ind.*, XIV, p. 232 ; Butterworth & Venugopal Chetty, *Inscriptions in the Nellore District*, I, p. 73 ; *Ep. Report for 1889* (February), p. 2 ; *Ep. Report for 1890* (Oct.), p. 3 ; *Ep. Report for 1912*, p. 80 ; Rice, *Mysore and Coorg from the Inscriptions*, p. 118.

proved by an inscription found in the Sômanâthêśvara temple at Melpâdi, Chittor district. It is dated Śaka 1379, Īśvara, Ādi, 20 (=1457 A.D., July, Monday the 18th). Īśvara Nâyaka is called the *daḷavāyi* of Śāluva Narasiṅga Dêva.⁵⁰ He continued to be the general of the same ruler till 1478 A.D. We infer this from a record dated Śaka 1400, Vilāmbi (1478 A.D., April), found in the Tiruvirattânêśvara temple at Tiruvadi, Cuddalore Taluka, South Arcot district. He is also called the *daḷavāyi* of *Mahāmaṇḍalêśvara* Narasiṅgaya Dêva Mahārāja.⁵¹ Perhaps he is the same Īśvara Nâyaka who is mentioned in a record found in the Kāmêśvara temple at Āragalūr, Salem district, and dated only in the cyclic year Plava (i.e., Śaka 1403=1481 A.D.)⁵² As regards Narasa Nâyaka we have the following records. An inscription found in the Chandramaulêśvara temple at Tiruvakkarai, South Arcot district, and dated only in the cyclic year Śôbhakṛit, but assignable to the Śaka year 1404 (1482 A.D.), informs us that Nārasa Nâyaka (evidently an error for Narasa Nâyaka) was the agent of the king Śāluva Narasiṅga Dêva.⁵³ In an age when some high offices were hereditary, it is not improbable that Narasa Nâyaka should have succeeded his father as agent (for the affairs) of the king in the same district. By Śaka 1420, Piṅgaḷa, Chaitra, Śu., Saturday (=1497 A.D., March 18th, Saturday), Narasa Nâyaka seems to have risen in the estimation of the ruler. This may be inferred from an inscription of that date found in the Rāmaswāmi temple at Rāmapuram, Anantapur district, which states that Kâchapa Nâyaka of Ādavāni, son of Immaḍi Kâchapa Nâyaka, held the district of Rāyadurga-chāvaḍi as a fief from Narasiṅga Rāya Mahārāja and Narasa Nâyaka.⁵⁴ Two other records dated 1499 A.D. call him agent for the affairs of Mēdinimisāra Gaṇḍakathāri Śāluva Narasiṃha Rāya.⁵⁵ We may here note that Narasa Nâyaka died in Śaka 1425, Rudhirôdgārin (1503 A.D.) This is inferred from a record found in the Brihadāmbā temple at Dêvikāpuram, North Arcot district, which informs us that his subordinates Tirumalai Nâyaka and Īsura Nâyaka gave a gift of land and house in the village of Kailāsa, to a certain Samarapuṅgava Dikshita, for the merit of Svāmi Narasa Nâyaka "who went to Śiva-lōka" (i.e., died).⁵⁶

As related above, Īśvara's father was called Timma. It is true that he is called Timma of the Tuḷuva line. The history of Tuḷuva (roughly modern South Kanara) does not afford any clue to the identity of this chief. The ancient dynasty that ruled over Tuḷuva was that of the Ālupa (or Āluva) kings of Udayāvara. There was of course also that of the Śāluvas, which ruled from Saṅgitaḥapura. The later rulers, who established their principality at Kārkaḷa, could trace their descent to the Śāntaras of Hombuchehhapura (modern Humcha) on the Western Ghāts.⁵⁷ Whether Timma, the father of Īśvara, was in any way connected with these rulers or with the petty chieftains of Chandāvūru or Sētu, I am unable to say. But it seems more probable that he was essentially Śāluva in descent, as the following considerations seem to prove.

We are told in a record assigned to 1434 A.D. that "by order of Dêva Rāya Mahārāja, Lakkanna Oḍeyar and Mādanna Oḍeyar gave Tēkaḷ" to Śāluva Gôpa Rāya, son of Śāluva

⁵⁰ 107 of 1921; Swamikannu, *Ind. Ephemeris*, V, p. 117.

⁵¹ 408 of 1921. He is not to be confounded with Īsura or Īśvara Nâyaka, son of Ettappa Nâyaka, mentioned in Śaka 1422 (1520-21 A.D.) together with his brother Tirumalai Nâyaka. These two brothers were officers under Narasa Nâyaka. 355 of 1912; 401 of 1912.

⁵² 422 of 1913.

⁵³ 198 of 1904.

⁵⁴ 719 of 1917; Swamikannu, *Ind. Ephemeris*, V, p. 196.

⁵⁵ *Ep. Car.*, IX, Cp. 52, p. 143; *Ep. Car.*, X, Mr. 5, p. 156.

⁵⁶ 357 of 1912; see also *Ep. Report for 1913*, p. 121.

⁵⁷ Hultzsch, *Ep. India*, IX, p. 15 seq.; Fleet, *Dynasties of the Kanarese Districts of the Bombay Presidency*, p. 84 (1882); Rice, *Mysore and Coorg from the Inscriptions*, p. 137; *Ep. Car.*, VII, Intr., pp. 19-20.

Tippa Râya.⁵⁸ The reason why Têkal was made over by a special order of the king is not stated; but we assume that consequent on the marriage of Harimâ with Sâluva Tippa, Dêva Râya may have thought it prudent to confer on Sâluva Gôpa the principality of Têkal. It may be that Sâluva Gôpa had already become conspicuous in the Tuḷuva-nâḍu, where the Sâluvas had a firm footing at *Saṅgītapura*; and that it was necessary to curtail their power by entrusting to the care of Sâluva Gôpa a province which was distant from Tuḷuva. These are, we admit, only suppositions for the present. While discussing the history of Sâluva Gôpa, we come across certain difficulties both from the point of chronology and the several names which one and the same person bears. Nevertheless one may venture to make the suggestion that Sâluva Gôpa's son was Tirumala Dêva or Gôpa Timma or Timma, the founder of the Tuḷuva line of Vijayanagara.

This view, which goes against all opinion, which till now has taken the so-called Tuḷuva family of Vijayanagara to be a distinct branch of rulers, needs to be examined. Sâluva Gôpa's inscriptions as Viceroy of Têkal range from about 1434 A.D. to about 1442 A.D.⁵⁹ They are found in the Mâlûr Tâluka of the Kolar district. The *birudas* assumed by him are *Kaṭhâri Sâluva*, *Mêdinimisaraṅgaṇḍa*, Establisher of Śambuvârâya, and *Gaṇḍaragûḷi*. These are evidently the same as those which his father Tippa assumed, except that of *Pañchaghaṇṭâninâda*, which may have been given to Sâluva Tippa for some act of personal bravery about which we are ignorant. Now, these are the same *birudas* which are given to Tirumalai Dêva, whose inscriptions date from about 1448 A.D. to about 1475-6 A.D. These are found in the Śrînivâsa Perumâl temple, Pâpanâsam,⁶⁰ Gôpinâtha Perumâl temple near Paṭṭisam,⁶¹ Subramanya temple at Tiruviḍaikkali,⁶² Agniśvara temple at Tiruk-kâṭṭuppalli,⁶³ and Râmânandiśvara temple at Tirukkannaparam.⁶⁴ The ruler referred to in most of these inscriptions—which are all found in the Tanjore district—is Mallikârjuna Râya. Mr. Venkôba Râo, commenting on two of these inscriptions found at Pâpanâsam, writes thus:—"In one of them he (Sâluva Tirumalai Dêva Mahârâja) is called 'the Establisher of Śambuvârâya.' He is evidently no other than Gôpa-Timma, who is mentioned as an independent king in an inscription at Tanjore (*South Indian Inscriptions*, vol. II, page 117 ff.)"⁶⁵ Although it is not possible for one to agree with Mr. Venkôba Râo in his conclusion regarding the independent position of the prince in question, yet it is not perhaps improbable that his identification of Gôpa-Timma with Tirumalai Dêva is correct. In his *Annual Report for 1925* Mr. Venkôba Râo goes one step further in his identification of Tirumalai Dêva. He writes thus: ".....the chief Tirumalayyadêva-mahârâya was the son of Sâluva Gôpa and the brother of Sâluva Gôpa-Tippa...."⁶⁶ The justification for this assertion is to be found in a record dated Śaka 1375, Śrîmukha (1453 A.D.), which tells us that Tirumalai-râya was the son of Goppa-râya. This epigraph was found in the Virattânêśvara

⁵⁸ *Ep. Car.*, X, Mr. 1, p. 155, and n. (1).

⁵⁹ *Ep. Car.*, X., Mr. 1, 2, 3, pp. 155-6; *Mys. Arch. Report for 1913-4*, p. 47.

⁶⁰ This is dated Śaka 1370, Prajâpati, expired. 448 of 1922. The cyclic year does not correspond. Śaka 1370=Vibhava; Śaka 1373=Prajâpati. Swamikannu, *Ind. Ephemeris*, V, pp. 98, 104.

⁶¹ 524 of 1920 (see also 527 of 1920); 452 of 1922; 456 of 1922.

⁶² 270 of 1925.

⁶³ 55 of 1897. This is dated only in the cyclic year Vikrama, which may perhaps refer to Śaka 1382 (1460 A.D.).

⁶⁴ 534 of 1922.

⁶⁵ *Ep. Rep. for 1923*, p. 118.

⁶⁶ *Ep. Rep. for 1925*, p. 89. On Sâluva Tippa see 388 of 1911 dated only in the cyclic year Dundubhi (Śaka 1364); 482 of 1922 dated Śaka 1396; 528 of 1920 undated; *Ep. Rep. for 1923*, p. 118. He has been identified by Mr. Venkôba Râo with the commentator of the *Kāvya-lankârasûtra* and two other works, one on music and the other on dancing.

temple at Tiruvadi, South Arcot district. I confess that it is not possible to explain why Tirumalai Dêva's inscription of 1453 A.D. should have been found in the South Arcot district when, as related above, most of his records refer us to the Tanjore district. We can only suppose that all these districts together formed the jurisdiction of one provincial ruler in those days, or that Tirumalai Dêva was in the South Arcot district in 1453 A.D. on some state business.

This last assumption would enable us to understand the identification of Tirumalai Dêva with Gôpa-Timma and Timma. A record dated Śaka 1385 expired, Subhānu (1463 A.D.), found in the Rāṅganātha temple at Śrīraṅgam, Trichinopoly, calls Tirumalai Dêva by the name of Gôpa-Timma. Dr. Hultzsch wrote the following on this point: "An inscription of Tirumalaidêva dated in 1463 A.D. . . . establishes the correctness of my identification of this king with Timma of Tuḷuva, the founder of the second dynasty of Vijayanagara (*South Indian Inscriptions*, vol. II, p. 117), as, in the Sanskrit verses at the end of the inscription, the king is called Gôpa-Timma."⁶⁷

While Dr. Hultzsch has thus enabled us to identify the Timma of Vijayanagara history, I am afraid he has not succeeded in explaining one knotty point which we come across in numerous inscriptions as well as in literature, and which till now has remained unexplained. Dr. Hultzsch wrote the following while editing a record of Kṛishṇa Dêva Rāya:—"The historical part begins with the verse 5:—'In his (viz., Turvasu's) race shone king Timma, who was famous among the princes of Tuḷuva, just as Kṛishṇa shone in the race of Yadu.' From this verse we learn, first, that the founder of the second Vijayanagara dynasty was a native of Tuḷuva or Northern Malayālam, the country of the northern Tuḷuvās. Secondly, he must have been a usurper, as he claims only a mythological relationship to the princes of the first dynasty of Vijayanagara. For, while the kings of this dynasty used to derive their origin from Yadu (see *South Indian Inscriptions*, I, pp. 156, 160), Timma selected, in opposition to his predecessors on the throne, Yadu's younger brother Turvasu as the mythical progenitor of his race."⁶⁸

From the Telugu works *Varāhapurāṇam* and *Jaiminī Bhāratam*, as remarked above, we gather that Sāḷuva Nṛsiṃha claimed descent from Yadu. We know also that the rulers who belonged to the Saṅgama line likewise traced their origin to Yadu. Obviously Sāḷuva Nṛsiṃha's claims for asserting that the progenitor of the branch to which he belonged was Yadu were not ill-founded, especially when we remember that he could, as Nuniz puts it, "in some manner" point his relationship to the Saṅgama family through Sāḷuva Tipṭa and his own unidentified wife of the same house. But we have to explain why Turvasu is mentioned in the inscriptions of Kṛishṇa Dêva Rāya and his successors as the progenitor of the so-called Tuḷuva line. It was because he, and therefore his great-grandfather Timma or Tirumala or Gopa-Timma, claimed descent from the youngest son of Gauta; while Sāḷuva Nṛsiṃha and his son Sāḷuva Narasiṅga traced their lineage to the eldest son of Gauta. Eliminating the two figures of Sāḷuva and Boppa, who do not seem to have been conspicuous, we may say that it was merely to distinguish their younger (in reality the youngest) branch from the elder (in reality the eldest) that Kṛishṇa Dêva Rāya's pedigree is traced to Turvasu in opposition to Yadu, the first mythological figure in the main line to which Sāḷuva Nṛsiṃha belonged.

⁶⁷ *Ep. Rep. for 1892*, p. 10. This Tirumalai Dêva is not to be confounded with Tirumalai Dêva of Śaka 1453 (1531-2 A.D.) who figures in the reign of Achyuta Rāya. 253 of 1906; *Ep. Rep. for 1907*, p. 85. He was the son of Salakaiyya Dêva Mahārāja. 174 of 1906.

⁶⁸ *Ep. Ind.*, I, p. 362.

But objections may be raised against such an identification. If Kṛishṇa Dēva Rāya really was the great-grandson of Tirumal or Timma, who was the son of Sāluva Gōpa, then why is it that neither in the numerous inscriptions of the same ruler and of his successors, nor in literature, is this fact mentioned? Secondly, how can we explain the fact that the ages of Timma, Īsvara, and Narasa overlap each other to a certain extent? The latter point I am unable to explain. As regards the former, the fact that Kṛishṇa Dēva Rāya and his successors, as I shall point out in a subsequent paper, assumed Sāluva *birudas* suggests that they were not unaware of their Sāluva descent. Now comes another consideration. If Timma or Tirumala was the son of Sāluva Gōpa, then why is the latter not mentioned in any of the epigraphs of Narasa and his successors? We must remember that Narasa's importance in Vijayanagara history lies in the fact of his having been a regent; and that really it was only in the days of his eldest son, Vira Narasiṃha, that the branch to which he belonged assumed imperial dignity.⁶⁹ According to Hindu lawgivers only three generations previous to that of the actual ruler need be given in the genealogical lists.⁷⁰ Since it was only in the times of Vira Narasiṃha that the so-called Tuluva dynasty was firmly established on the Vijayanagara throne, both that ruler and his brother Kṛishṇa Dēva Rāya were justified in tracing their descent from Timma or Tirumalai Dēva or Gōpa-Timma. However that may be, there cannot be any doubt that the only way of reconciling the statements made in epigraphs in connection with Yadu and Turvasu, is by realising that Sāluva Nṛsiṃha traced his origin to the former through Guṇḍa, and Kṛishṇa Dēva Rāya to the latter through Tippa, the eldest and the youngest sons respectively of Gauta.

Sāluvas and Tuluvas. (B)

A further link in the Sāluva and Tuluva alliance is given by Nuniz, who tells us that Kṛishṇa Dēva Rāya married "a very beautiful woman of the family of the kings of Narsynga"⁷¹ Who she was, and whether she was directly connected with Sāluva Nṛsiṃha, or whether she was a member of the many collateral branches of the Sāluvas spread over the country, we are unable to determine at the present stage of our investigations. If Nuniz could be relied upon, Kṛishṇa Dēva Rāya seems to have made matters doubly sure by marrying a Sāluva princess.

IV. Tuluva-Āravīṭi Continuity.

The relationship between the Āravīṭi and what has been till now styled the Tuluva dynasty is well known. Kṛishṇa Dēva Rāya's daughter Tirumalāmbā was given in marriage to Rāma Rāja, the famous Regent.⁷² The last figure in Vijayanagara history of any consequence, Śrīraṅga Rāja (1643-1664 A.D.), was, we may incidentally note, the great-grandson of Rāma Rāja of the Āravīṭi family. According to the Karpāṭa grant of this same ruler Śrīraṅga Rāja, Rāma Rāja seems also to have married a sister of Sadāśiva. If this were really so, then, the claims of the great regent to control the destinies of the Vijayanagara Empire were to great extent valid.⁷³

The conclusions formulated above have been indicated on the genealogical table below.

⁶⁹ 386 of 1904; *Ep. Rep. for 1905*, p. 54; *Ep. Rcp. for 1912*, p. 80.

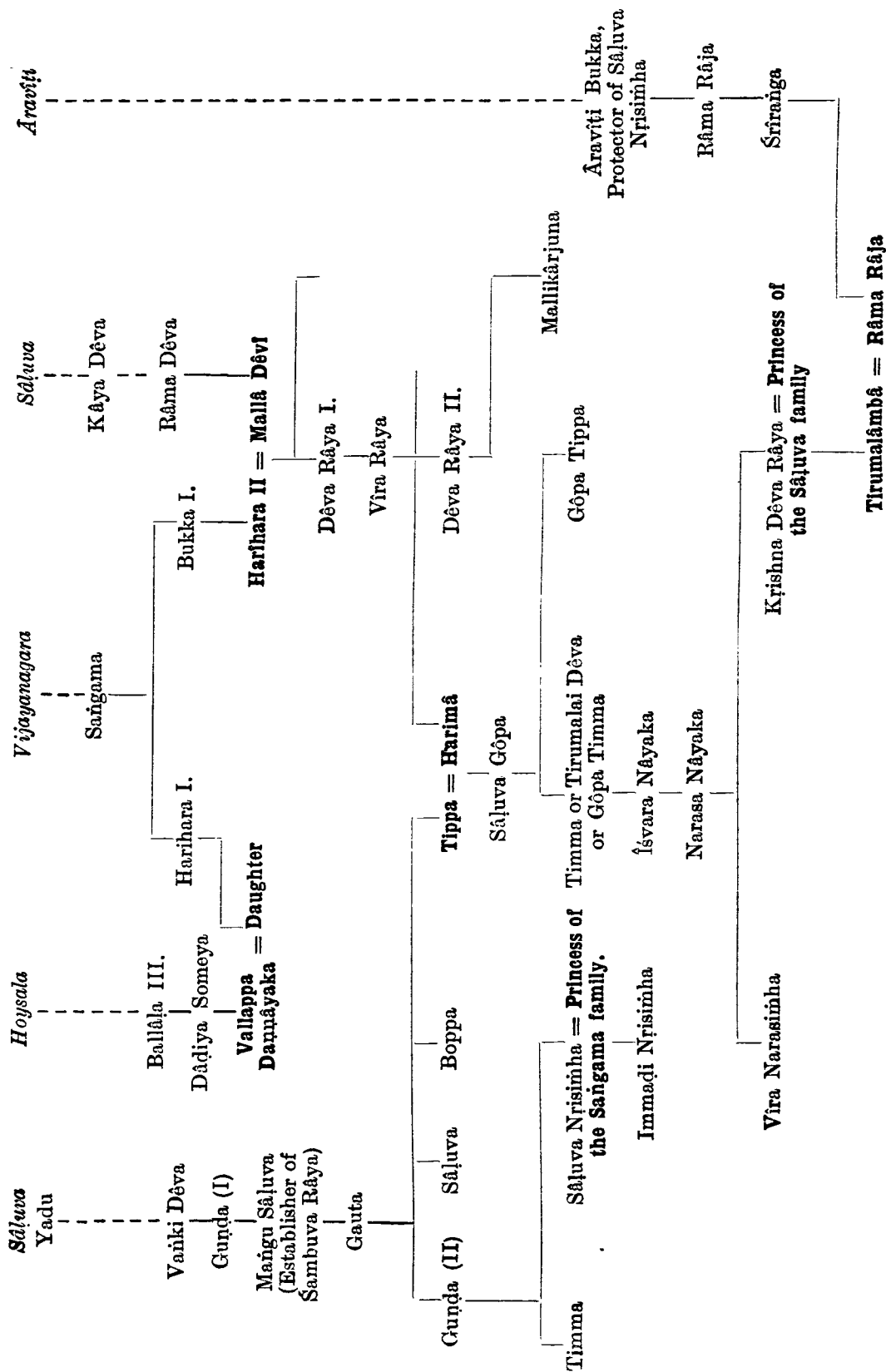
⁷⁰ Fleet, *Dynasties of the Kanarese Districts of the Bombay Presidency*, p. 18. (1882 ed.) Cf. Burnell, *Elements of South Indian Palæography*, p. 109. (1878 ed.)

⁷¹ Sewell, *A Forgotten Empire*, p. 363.

⁷² Rāmarājiyamu, *The Sources of Vijayanagara History*, p. 187.

⁷³ Sewell, *A Forgotten Empire*, pp. 181, n. (4), 182; Hultzsch, Karpāṭa Grant of Rāga II, *Indian Antiquary*, XIII, pp. 154-155; Here Sadāśiva Rāja's descent is slightly different to that given by Rice, *Ep. Car.*, III, Intr., p. 27. Kielhorn explains that the statement that Rāma Rāja was the husband of the sister of Sadāśiva Rāja need not be taken in its literal sense. British Museum Plates of Sadāśiva Rāja, *Ep. Ind.*, IV, pp. 3-4. See Rāmarājiyamu, *The Sources of Vijayanagara History*, pp. 102-103, 188, for details regarding the Āravīṭi family. Heras, *The Āravīṭi Dynasty of Vijayanagara*, pp. 19-20, may also be read in this connection. Kṛishṇa Śāstri gives a detailed account of the Āravīṭi rulers, *Annual Report, A.S.I. for 1908-9*, p. 197 f.

DYNASTIC CONTINUITY IN VIJAYANAGARA HISTORY.



CAPELAN.

(The Ruby Mines District of Burma.)

BY THE LATE SIR RICHARD TEMPLE, Bt.

I HAVE had some old notes by me on this long disputed name Capelan, for the Ruby Mines District of Burma, which do not, of course, settle the difficulty, but as they may help to do so, they seem to be worth publishing.

Forbes (*British Burma*, 1878) remarks on the Ruby Mines thus (p. 25): "Kyàt-pîn (query Capelan), whence the rubies are obtained, is situated near Momiet, about seventy miles south of Bamaw, or Bhamo as we have named it." Here Forbes distinctly suggests Capelan as a European corruption of the Burmese form Kyàt-pîn, or as it would now be transliterated Kyàt-pyin. In modern Burmese pronunciation the name sounds in most mouths as Kyàppyin or even Chàppyin. This it will be seen is the ordinary derivation of the old European travellers' term Capelan, and it is probably right. Kyàtpyin is about 75 miles N. N. E. of Ava or Mandalay and 6 miles S. E. of Mògòk, the local headquarters of the Ruby Mines Company.

Tavernier, as edited by Valentine Ball in 1889 from the original French edition of 1676, says in his *Travels*, II, 99: "There are only two places in the East where coloured stones are obtained, namely in the Kingdom of Pegu [Burma] and in the island of Ceylon. The first is a mountain twelve days or thereabouts from Siren in a north-east direction and it is called Capelan." Here Ball notes that "Siren is a mistake for Ava," and that Capelan "is Kyat-pyen: its distance from Ava is about 70 miles." It will be seen below, however, that by "Siren" Tavernier probably meant Siriam near Rangoon.

From Tavernier's Siren we get a mineralogist, writing before 1882, telling us that "Capelan, the ruby-sapphire district," was "near Syrian, a city of Pegu." Thus in Mason's *Burma*, ed. Theobald, 1882, I, 11, we read: "The red sapphire is usually denominated the oriental ruby. Dana (*Mineralogy*, 1868) says, 'the best ruby sapphires occur in the Capelan mountains near Syrian, a city of Pegu.' This is an advance on Phillips, who made 'Pegu, a city in Ceylon.' Still the mineralogists make slow progress in geography. In 1833, a letter from a Roman Catholic priest, D. Amata, was published in *JASB*, which showed that the Capelan Mountains are about 70 miles north of Ava, instead of being in the vicinity of Rangoon, as they would be if 'near Syrian.' The Capelan Mountains of Dana are doubtless a corrupt form of Kyat-pen, the name of a village near the mines, and the mines themselves are simply pits sunk in the ruby producing gravel." However, taking Tavernier's statement that Siren was twelve days distant from "Capelan," and Dana's identification of it with Siriam, now a complete ruin, but in Tavernier's day an important foreign emporium, it is fair to assume that Tavernier meant Siriam and not Ava by Siren. Of course Dana's inference that Capelan was "near Siriam" is all nonsense.

In Yule's *Hobson-Jobson* the following varied spellings of Capelan appear

1506 Leonardo Ca'Messer	Auplen.
1510 Varthema	Capellan.
1516 Barbosa	Capelam.
c. 1585 Ramusio	Capelangam.

But Kapelan or Capelan has been traced to an earlier date still, for in Nicolo Conti's narrative, recorded by Poggio in 1440, we find "Capelang, for the Ruby Country north of Ava, a name preserved to a much later date, but not now traceable:" so writes Cordier in a footnote in his edition of Yule's *Cathay and the Way Thither* I, 177.

In Yule's *Embassy to Ava*, 1855, 179 f. & n., there is an ingenious guess that Capelan may represent a Palaung or Kachin word, as both Palaungs and Kachins are to be found in

the neighbourhood of the Ruby Mines. Yule writes thus as to the celebrated mines :— " Their locality is always called by the old travellers, ' Kapilan,' or ' Capelangan ' sometimes spoken of as a kingdom, sometimes as a city, or as a great mountain. The name is suggestive of the *Paloungs*, a tribe inhabiting the hills immediately east of the mines. If one might hazard a further suggestion, *Kha*, signifying river in the language of the adjoining *Kakhyens*, *Kha-Paloun* may have been the name of the valley. The old Portuguese *Summary of Eastern Realms, Cities, and Peoples*, translated in Ramusio (vol. I.) says that about Capelangan there are ' *molte terre habitate da gente non molto domestica*, a description applying strictly to the *Kakhyens*, if not to the more industrious *Palaungs*." See also *ante*, vol. LII, 134.

This is, however, unfortunately nothing more than a guess. Both the *Palaungs* and *Kakhyens* (*Kachins* as they are now called) are well known, and Mrs. Milne, authoress of the *Palaung Grammar*, wrote to me in 1922 in terms that rule out anything but a Burman origin for Capelan or Capellan : " In answer to your question about *Capellan* I fear that I cannot help you. I do not think that Thabeitkyim was in any way connected with rubies (but I may be mistaken), unless, for a time, a ruby market was held there. That may be possible, just as the name Golconda is connected with diamonds [from the Karnul District]. It was easy in the old days to reach Thabeitkyim by river, from Rangoon or from Mandalay, but not easy to go to Mogok or to Kyatpyin, as there were many dacoits in old times in the Ruby Mines district. I think that it is more likely that Capellan or Capelam (I think that it is so written by Barbosa) may be the same as Kyatpyin. Mogok and Kyatpyin are quite near each other, and I fancy that in old times quite as many rubies were found at Kyatpyin as were found at Mogok. Mogok is now the better known place, as it is the headquarters of the English Ruby Mines Company."

As regards Thabeitkyin, in 1927 Mr. Harold Clayton informed me that " Kyatpyin is a village on the Irrawaddy above the first defile, from which the old road up to the Ruby Mines at Mōgōk used to start. This road is now almost entirely superseded by the Government metalled road, which starts from below the defile at Thabeitkyin." He then went on to make the following suggestion : " *Kyātmyē* (*myē*=earth) is the name of a hard impervious clay, and it is quite possible that Kyatpyin has some connection with it. *Pyin* means literally ' outside,' and the term is also used for open stretches of country. Thus *lēbyin* (*lē*=paddy field) means an open stretch of paddy fields. I have not been any distance inside from the river bank at Kyatpyin, but there is a comparatively large stretch of undulating country of a ' plain ' character in that region, as compared with the hills of the Ruby Mines and the country further east. It is not particularly fertile, and so far as I am aware cultivation is confined to paddy land in bottoms and various other crops on the alluvial land by the Irrawaddy and other streams. The most likely meaning of Kyatpyin is therefore to my mind the ' clay plain.' There is no reason, I think, to infer a Chinese derivation. Kyatpyin is not far south of Tagaung, which is an early centre of Burmese influence and one of the first capitals of Burmese kings. Kipling's derivation Lung-tang-pen is a pure invention and definitely not a Burmese formation. There is nothing resembling the Chinese word *lân* meaning ' old ' in Burmese, nor have I ever heard it in connection with Kyatpyin. *Lan* means a road or way in Burmese, and Kyatpyinlân (Capelan) would mean simply the ' road to Kyatpyin.' " Here we have a reasonable derivation of Capelan.

The upshot of this brief enquiry then is that Capelan has been a constant European book name for the Ruby Mines District of Burma from at any rate 1440 onwards, and that it is a corruption of Kyatpyinlân, heard by Europeans as Kāppinlân or Chāppinlân, i.e., Kyatpyin Road—the road to one of the places where the Burma ruby or red sapphire was principally found.

My personal interest in the ruby-sapphires of Burma dates from the early days (1888) of the British occupation of Mandalay, when I had to hold official auctions of rubies in Government possession once a month.

For the benefit of enquirers I add the following information. Dr. William Crooke produced an edition of Ball's *Tavernier* in 1925, and made a note on II, 99 (II, 77, in his own edition) about Caplan: "Caplan is the place where they find the rubies, sapphires, and spinelles; it standeth six dayes journey from Ava in the kingdome of Pegu" (R. Fitch, ed. Ryley, 172 f.; cf. Varthema, ed. Badger, 219)." In Appendix V: The Ruby Mines of Upper Burma and the Sapphire Washings of Ceylon, pp. 361 ff., Crooke wrote: "The principal ruby mines of Burma are situated in three valleys, which are known by the names of their chief villages respectively, namely Mogok (or Mogout), Kathé, and Kyatpyen." And in a footnote he added "For a full account of the Ruby Mines District, see Sir J. G. Scott, J. P. Hardiman. *Gazetteer of Upper Burma and the Shan States*, Rangoon, 1901, pt. i, vol. ii, 213 ff.; pt. ii, vol. iii, 3 ff.; *Imperial Gazetteer*, xxi, 326 ff."

GLEANINGS FROM SANSKRIT LITERATURE.

(The Works of Vâchaspati Mîśra.)

By PROF. DASHARATHA SHARMA, M.A.

ONE does not generally look to the speculative and rather dry books on Sanskrit philosophy for knowledge of the period in which their writers lived. In this short article, however, I shall attempt to show by means of a few extracts and brief comments thereon how even the works of such a subtle philosopher as Vâchaspati Mîśra can be utilized to glean a few facts of social and administrative history which, however unimportant by themselves, are cumulatively useful, because of the light which they shed on a very dark period of Indian history.

Revenue Administration.

1. यथा हि ग्रामाध्यक्षः कौटुम्बिकेभ्यः करमादाय विषयाध्यक्षाय प्रयच्छति, विषयाध्यक्षश्च सर्वाध्यक्षाय, स च भूपतये; तथा बाह्येन्द्रियाण्यालोच्य मनसे समर्पयन्ति, मनश्च सङ्कल्प्याहङ्काराय, अहङ्कारश्चाभिमत्य बुद्धौ सर्वाध्यक्ष-भूतायां.¹

Translation.—As the village officer collects the rent from the different heads of families, and delivers the collections to the head of the *viṣaya* or the revenue division, who again, in his turn, carries it to the *sarvādhyaṁkṣa*, who finally makes it over to the king: so, in the same manner, the external organs, having operated on (observed) an object, present the observation to *Manas*, which reflects on it (and imparts thereto its qualifications), presenting these qualified observations in turn to *Ahaṁkāra*, which takes specific cognizance of them, and finally delivers such cognition to the head officer, *Buddhi*.²

Comment.—The extract shows that the system of revenue collection prevailing in Mithilā was *raiyatwār*. But before reaching the king, the rent had to pass through the hands of the *viṣayādhyaṁkṣa* and the *sarvādhyaṁkṣa*. Who this *sarvādhyaṁkṣa* was, is not quite clear. He might have been either the head revenue officer at the capital, or the governor of a division bigger than the *viṣaya*. The former is perhaps the more likely meaning here.

Army and Weapons.

2. तथेन्द्रियव्यापारा अपि बुद्धेरेव स्वव्यापारेणाध्यवसायेन सहैकव्यापारीभवन्ति, यथा स्वसैन्येन सह ग्रामाध्यक्षादितैच्यं सर्वाध्यक्षस्य भवति ।³

Translation.—The functions of the senses also coalesce with the functional determination of *Buddhi*, as the forces of the village officers, etc., do with that of the *sarvādhyaṁkṣa*.

¹ *Sāṁkhya-tattva-kaumudī*, edited by MM. Gaṅgānātha Jhā, Bombay, Theosophical Publication Fund, 1896, p. 53, ll. 17-21.

² The translation is by MM. Dr. Gaṅgānātha Jhā.

³ *Sāṁkhya-tattva-kaumudī*, edition cited above, p. 54, ll. 18-13.

Comment.—The extract supplies the important information that the Hindu armies of the period were largely composed of forces levied by village officials and provincial governors. Taken in conjunction with the last passage, it tells us further that the village officers and provincial governors were entrusted not merely with revenue, but with military duties also, suggesting that there was no separation of civil and military powers in the Hindu administration of the ninth century.

3. यथाहि बहवः पुरुषाः शास्त्रीकयाष्टीकधानुष्कापार्णिकाः कृतसङ्केताः परावस्कन्दनाय प्रवृत्ताः ।⁴

Translation.—For instance, a number of persons wielding lances, staves, bows, and swords unite for suppressing a common enemy.

Comment.—It appears from this passage that lances, staves, bows, and swords were the chief weapons of the Indian armies of the period.

Status of Women.

4. (a) “व्यवधानाद्,” यथा कुड्यादिव्यवहितं राजदारादि न पश्यति ।⁵

(b) सुकुमारतर तातिपेशलता, परपुरुषदर्शनासहिष्णुतेति यावत् । असूर्यपश्या हि कूलवधूरातिमन्दाक्षमन्यरा प्रमादाद् विगलितसिचयाञ्चना चेदालोक्यते परपुरुषेण, तदासौ तथा प्रयतते, चप्रमत्तां यथैनां परपुरुषान्तराणि न पुनः पश्यन्ति ।⁶

Translation.—(a) “From intervention”—e.g., one cannot see the queens behind the walls.

(b) By modesty here is meant delicacy (of manners), the inability to suffer exposure to the *Puruṣa*'s view. As a well-bred lady, invisible (even) to the sun, with her eyes cast down, having her body uncovered by chance, happening to be seen by a stranger, tries to hide herself in such a way as not to be seen again; so Nature—even more modest than such a lady—having once been seen by the *Puruṣa*, will in no case, show herself again.

Comment.—These two extracts point to the strictness of the *parda* system in the ninth century. Specially remarkable in this connection is Vāchaspati Miśra's explanation of the term *sukumārataratā*. Being wholly different from that of Gaudapāda,⁷ an earlier commentator on the *Sāṃkhya-kārikā*, it is, we think, illustrative of the social condition of the period.

5. (a) तद्यथा एकैव स्त्री रूपयौवनवृत्तसंपन्ना स्वामिन् सुखाकरोति, तत्कस्य हेतोः ? स्वामिन् प्रति तस्याः सुखरूपसमुद्भवात् । सैव स्त्री संपत्नीर्दुःखाकरोति, तत् कस्य हेतोः ? ताः प्रति तस्या दुःखरूपसमुद्भवात् ।⁸

(b) एवं संपत्नीजनस्य तस्यां द्वेषः स्त्रीप्रलयस्य दुःखत्वे । एवं मैत्रस्य तस्या भर्तृ रागस्तस्यैव स्त्रीप्रत्ययस्य सुखत्वे ।⁹

Translation.—(a) A single girl, young, beautiful, gentle and virtuous, is a source of delight to her husband, because with regard to him she is born with her essence consisting in pleasure. She pains her co-wives, because, with regard to them, she is born with her essence consisting in pain.

(b) For instance, her co-wives are hostile to her, because she, being a woman, is a cause of pain to them. (On the other hand) her husband Maitra has love for her, because that very idea of her being a woman is a source of pleasure to him.

Comment.—Perhaps little comment is needed to show that many Indians of the ninth century were polygamous, and that generally one co-wife was jealous of another.

⁴ *Ibid.*

⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 18, ll. 8-9.

⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 74, l. 21, to p. 75, l. 1.

⁷ प्रकृतेः सुकुमारतरं सुभोग्यतरं न किञ्चिदीश्वरादिकारणमस्ति । (*Gaudapada-bhāṣya*, edited and translated by H. H. Wilson, published by Rajaram Tookaram, Bombay, 1924, p. 232, l. 14.)

⁸ *Sāṃkhya-tattva-kaumudī*, edition cited above, p. 31, l. 23, to p. 32, l. 3.

⁹ *Tattva-vaiśārādī*, Anandāśrama edition, Poona, 1919, p. 101, l. 2, of commentary.

6. (a) नर्तकी नृत्यपरिषद्भ्यो दर्शयित्वा निवृत्तापि पुनरतद्दृष्टिकौतूहलात् प्रवर्तते । ¹⁰

(b) तथा च नर्तकीभ्रूलताभङ्गे एकस्मिन् बहूनां प्रतिसन्धानं युक्तम् । ¹¹

Translation.—(a) A dancing girl having retired from the stage after her exhibition returns to it again, if so desired by the spectators.

(b) In the case of the glances of a dancing girl, the attentiveness of many to that single object is quite a consistent fact.

Comment.—Some women seem to have adopted stage-dancing as a profession.

Caste-System, Religious Animosity, and Education.

7. (a) राजजातीयाभिमानकर्तृके राजसूये न विप्रवैश्यजातीयाभिमानिनोरधिकारः । एवं द्विजातिवृत्तिक्रिया-
वरणादिविभागाभिमानकर्तृके कर्मणि न तदनभिमानिनोरधिकारः । न चानधिकृतेन कृतं कर्म फलाय
कल्पते, वैश्यस्तोम इव ब्राह्मणराजन्याभ्याम् । ¹²

(b) न खलु शालग्रामे किरातशतसंकीर्णे प्रातःपञ्चमि ब्राह्मणः किरातो भवति । ¹³

Translation.—(a) One belonging to the Brāhmaṇa or Vaiśya caste has no right to perform the *rājasūya*, which should be undertaken (only) by people belonging to the royal caste. Similarly an action which should have a Brāhmaṇa, a Kṣatriya, or a Vaiśya as its agent, which should be the doing of one of these, and which should be done through one of them, should in no case be performed by one not belonging to these classes. Like the *vaiśyastoma* sacrifice performed by a Brāhmaṇa or a Kṣatriya, an action performed by one not entitled to perform it, is fruitless.

(b) Even by living within a fenced village inhabited by hundreds of Kirātas, a Brāhmaṇa does not become a Kirāta.

Comment.—These quotations show how rigid and firm the caste-system had grown by the ninth century. One caste was not allowed to perform the social functions of the other, and a Brāhmaṇa ever remained a Brāhmaṇa, if he was so by birth.

8. (a) आसन्नग्रहेणायुक्ताः शाक्यभिधुनिर्ग्रथकसंसारमोचकादीनामागमाभासाः परिहृता भवन्ति । अयुक्तत्वं
चैतेषां विगानात्, विच्छिन्नमूलत्वात् । प्रमाणविरुद्धार्थमिधानाथ कैथिदेव म्लेच्छादिभिः पुरुषापसदः
पशुप्रायैः परिग्रहाद् बोधव्यम् । ¹⁴

(b) यस्य...तत्का...न दृष्टानुमितार्थो यथा चैवं वन्देत स्वर्गकाम इति, स आगमः प्लवते । ¹⁵

Translation.—(a) By saying true revelation, all pretended revelations such as those of the Bauddhas, the Jainas, and the *samsāra-mochakas* (deliverers from the world) have been set aside. The invalidity of these systems is due to their making unreasonable assertions, to want of sufficient basis, to their making statements contradictory to proofs, and lastly to their being accepted by Mlecchas and other brutish, mean people.

(b) That testimony fails which is based on the assertion of a speaker who has neither seen nor inferred an object truly. (Of such an assertion the example is) that one desirous of heaven should bow to a Bauddha or a Jaina temple.

Comment.—Passages like the above prove at least the existence of mental intolerance among the men and women of the ninth century. When even such a sober writer as Vāchaspati Miśra could call the Bauddhas and the Jainas mean, beastly and Mleccha-like, the virus of religious animosity must have permeated thoroughly all ranks of Indian society of the period.

9. तत्र व्यक्तं स्वरूपतः पांमुल्लवादको हानिकोऽपि प्रत्यक्षतः प्रतिपद्यते । ¹⁶

¹⁰ *Sāṃkhya-tattva-kaumudī*, edition cited, p. 74, ll. 14-15.

¹¹ *Ibid.*, p. 28, ll. 1-2.

¹² Bhāmati on *Brahmasūtra-Sāṅkara-bhāṣya*, Nirṇayasāgara Press, 1917, p. 59, ll. 3-5.

¹³ *Tattva-vaiśārādī*, edition cited above, p. 10, ll. 8-9.

¹⁴ *Sāṃkhya-tattva-kaumudī*, as above, p. 13, l. 24, to p. 14, l. 3.

¹⁵ *Tattva-vaiśārādī*, as above, p. 12, ll. 7-9.

¹⁶ *Sāṃkhya-tattva-kaumudī*, as above, p. 17, ll. 1-3.

Translation.—Of these the manifested—earth, etc.—are perceptible in their true form even to the ploughman having his feet covered with dust.

Comment.—The peasant is to the mind of Vāchaspati Miśra the best example of the mentally undeveloped people. This clearly means that education was confined to the upper strata of society and did not reach as low as the poor ignorant peasants.

Conclusion.—The few extracts given above by no means exhaust the information to be supplied by Vāchaspati Miśra. If some scholar well-versed in Sanskrit would undertake the laborious task of going through the great philosopher and commentator's voluminous works, he would probably find his toil amply repaid by the amount of information to be gleaned therefrom relative to the social conditions of the age.

MISCELLANEA.

INDIA AND THE EAST IN CURRENT LITERATURE.

Journal Asiatique, tome CCXX, No. 1, Janvier-Mars, 1932.—In this issue M. Sylvain Lévi contributes a valuable note, illustrated by 4 plates on which eight specimens of the MSS. have been very clearly reproduced from photographs, on two important finds of Sanskrit MSS. at Bamian and near Gilgit. At Bamian, in a cave to the east of the 35 metres high figure of the Buddha, in a portion of the cupola that had fallen in, M. Hackin discovered, besides important remains of paintings and sculpture, a large quantity of MSS. on bark, unfortunately stuck together in a compact mass and very brittle, mostly in Brāhmī script, but including some rare records in Kharoṣṭhī. M. Hackin succeeded in setting up some of the best preserved fragments under glass, and these were, with permission of H. M. King Nādir Shāh, sent to Paris. M. Lévi tells us that the documents cover the period from the third-fourth century (Kuṣāṇa) to the seventh-eighth century (late Gupta) and besides the types of writing found in India proper, Central Asian types are represented, indicating that the library had contained MSS. from various sources, or else that copyists from different countries had been employed. The chief interest of this find lies in its providing an authentic portion of the *Vinaya* of the Mahā-sāṅghikas, as also an authentic fragment of the seven *pādas* of the *Abhidharma* of the Sarvāstivādins, hitherto known only from their Chinese translation, the *Saṅgītiparyāya*.

In the March 1932 issue of this journal (vol. LXI, p. 60) we published information received from Sir Aurel Stein of the very important find of a mass of ancient Sanskrit MSS. in the ruins of a *stūpa* near Naupur village, about 2 miles west of Gilgit cantonment. A member of the Citroen expedition, which happened to be passing Gilgit shortly after Sir Aurel had been there, managed to take some photographs of a few of the leaves, which were submitted to M. Lévi, who had also received a fragment of a leaf obtained by another traveller.

Later on, a number of leaves from this find were sent to Europe by Sir A. Stein. The examination of all this material has enabled the learned French scholar to write this paper, in which he confirms Sir Aurel's estimate of the date (around the sixth century A.D.) of the MSS., and further emphasises the extreme value of the find. Eleven birch-bark leaves of large size, beautifully written in sixth-seventh century characters, form portion of a magnificent copy of the *Vinaya* of the Mūlasarvāstivādins, the value of which can hardly be overestimated, the Sanskrit original of this *Vinaya* (with the exception of the portions preserved in the *Divya*) not being available hitherto. M. Lévi has added a transcription (in Romans) of these leaves, together with a translation in French of portions thereof. "It is useless," he writes, "to insist upon the paramount importance of this document. One shudders to think that the leaves of this *Vinaya*, recovered by a kind of miracle, may have been distributed among the peasants of Gilgit, to be sold by little packets, if no worse fate even should befall them." Six other leaves of smaller dimension, of the same period but in a different handwriting, are of a kind of thick carton paper (which seems to point to an Eastern Turkestan provenance). These belong to a manuscript of the *Saddharmapundarika* and include, fortunately, the last page of the work with a part of the colophon. The difficulty of deciphering this latter, which appears to contain a list of the benefactors associated with the pious work of making the copy, is increased by the fact that most of the names recorded are not Sanskrit, nor even Indian names. M. Lévi believes they are Turkish, or more precisely, Toukiue names, which he regards as "fairly probable since round about the year 600 A.D. Gilgit was incorporated in the vast empire of the Western Toukiue."

Archiv Orientaln, vol. IV, No. 2, Aug. 1932.—Monsr. J. Przyluski, in one of his intriguing and ingenious essays, suggests a non-Indo-European origin for the name, and a Dravidian origin for

the god, Viṣṇu. Looking at the Sanskrit, Pali and modern Marāṭhī forms under which the name appears, he classifies them thus :—

Vīṭha-	Vīṭhū	Vēṭha
Viṣṇu		Veṣṇu

Taking *na* (or *nu*) as a non-Aryan suffix (as he has elsewhere suggested in the cases of *patana* and *Varuṇa*, he finds the roots *Vīṭh*, *Viṣ*; *Vēṭh* *Vēṣ*. The interchange of *ṭh* and *ṣ*, he notes, is exemplified in the Austro-asiatic languages, and the same thing is found in Indian words of non-Aryan origin (cf. *karpāṭa* and *karpasa*; *kirāṭa*, *kirāṭa*, and *kirāsa*; Pali *kaṭeruha* and *kaseruka*). The variations in the last consonant are themselves, M. Przyluski adds, an indication of foreign origin, inasmuch as "while words that are fundamentally Aryan evolve in accordance with more or less strict principles, foreign words change in a more capricious manner, and this is just one of the signs that enable us to recognise them." M. Przyluski goes on to seek corroboration of his deductions from a study of the old traditions in connexion with Viṣṇu and Kṛṣṇa. In the field of mythology he treads on perhaps less firm ground. He refers specially to the story of the ten sons of Devagarbhā (said to be known as the ten sons of Andhakavenhu) in the *Ghatajātaka*, which he takes to be a Pali version of the Kṛṣṇa legend. Comparison of the versions of the legend leads him to the hypothesis that Viṣṇu, the ancestral god, called in Pali Andhakavenhu, is really the father of the gods Vāsudeva, Bala, etc. Arguments are, further, adduced for suggesting that Viṣṇu may be an ethnic term for Dravidian people. The paper is calculated to gratify the residents of Andhradeśa, if it be distasteful to those of Vrajadeśa; but the impartial reader will realise the import of the wider issues involved.

Tijdschrift voor Indische Taal-, Land- en Volkenkunde, vol. LXXII, Pt. 2, 1932.—Prof. Nīlanta Sastri contributes an interesting paper in this number, entitled "A Tamil Merchant-guild in Sumatra," in which he discusses the fragmentary Tamil inscription found at Lobe Toewa, near Baros, dated Śaka 1010, in the light of certain other S. Indian inscriptions of about the same period. Dr. Hultzsch originally drew attention (in *Mad. Ep. Report*, 1892) to the fact that the Lobe Toewa record referred to a gift by a body of persons styled 'the one thousand five hundred. Prof. Sastri has traced five other inscriptions mentioning a similar corporation of merchants. He regards all these records as pointing to the existence of a well-known merchant guild in southern India, which appears from certain details given in the inscriptions to have been a powerful body, who enjoyed a considerable amount of autonomy, regulated their own affairs, owed no exclusive allegiance to any one king, and entertained mercenary troops to safeguard their goods in the

warehouses and in transit. Their trading activities appear to have extended over wide areas, both by land and by sea. Prof. Sastri is inclined to think that a colony of Tamils resided more or less permanently in Sumatra at the time.

Antiquity, vol. VI, No. 23, Sept. 1932.—In a note on pages 356-7, Mr. Ernest Mackay draws attention to the recent discovery of two more links between ancient India and Elam. The first is the finding by Dr. H. Frankfort of a cylinder seal of Indian workmanship (as shown by the elephant, rhinoceros and *ghariyāl* carved upon it) at Tell Asmar, about 50 miles NE. of Baghdad, which he would assign to about 2500 B.C., as it was found in a house of the time of the Dynasty of Akkad. In the same building were found a number of heart-shaped pieces of inlay and decorated carnelian beads, which, as far as yet known, occur only in the topmost levels of Mohenjo-daro; and the two cylinder-seals found at Mohenjo-daro also come from the highest strata. From this evidence Mr. Mackay inclines to take 2500 B.C. as the approximate date of the upper levels at M.-d. (instead of 2750 B.C., as previously suggested).

The second is a fragment of a steatite vase found at a very low level at Mohenjo-daro, bearing exactly the same intricate and unusual pattern as a double vase of steatite found at Susa in association with objects of the 2nd Period. That the vase of which this fragment formed a part was an importation from Elam is rendered the more certain, Mr. Mackay thinks, by its being of a greenish-grey steatite, of which it is the only piece yet found in the Indus valley excavations. As the date of Susa II is about 2800 B.C., this may be taken as the approximate date of the level of the Elamite find at Mohenjo-daro, thus leaving an interval of about 300 years between the two levels, "a conclusion," writes Mr. Mackay, "to which I am already inclined on other grounds."

C. E. A. W. O.

Illustrated London News.—In reference to the above subject attention may be drawn to the Feb. 13, 1932, issue of this journal, in which Dr. Woolley brings to notice another link between Ur and Mohenjo-daro, viz., a circular seal, with a bull and Indus script, found in a grave shaft of the second Dynasty of Ur, which may be dated about 2800 B.C.

In the same journal interesting light is thrown on the culture of Persia and Arabia by the discovery of a Sasanian palace at Damghan (Mr. A. U. Pope, Mar. 26) and other Sasanian antiquities at Kish (Feb. 20), by the travels of Mr. Philby through the great desert of Arabia (July 2), and by the accounts by Herr Hefritz of the Hadramaut (Apr. 2) and the fish-eating tribes of the south Arabia coast (July 16).

F. J. R.

BOOK-NOTICES

CORNWALLIS IN BENGAL. By A. ASPINALL, M.A., PH.D. 8vo., pp. xv+210. Manchester, University Press, 1931.

This is an admirable piece of work, by a scholar who was formerly Lecturer in History at Rangoon University and now holds a similar post at Reading; and after reading it, our only regret is that it is not longer. In the sub-title its precise scope is defined as 'the administrative and judicial reforms of Lord Cornwallis in Bengal, together with accounts of the commercial expansion of the East India Company, 1786-93, and of the foundation of Penang, 1786-93.' Cornwallis's best-known measure, the Permanent Settlement of Bengal, is thus excluded from consideration; and Dr. Aspinall explains that he has done so deliberately, on the grounds that the subject is too vast to be treated in a short monograph, that it has been dealt with exhaustively already, and that Cornwallis was only indirectly responsible for the plan. However this may be, a chapter on the subject, however short, would have been welcomed by most readers, and the omission to some extent stultifies the title of the volume.

The author has based his narrative upon a careful study of the official records of the period, both in India and in England; and in addition, he has made telling use of extracts from the Melville Papers which were so unfortunately scattered at public auction a few years ago. The result is a full and authoritative account of the steps taken by Cornwallis to reform the administration, and of their practical results. It has too often been assumed that the changes introduced by Warren Hastings had had the effect of establishing, by the time he left Bengal, a thoroughly satisfactory and efficient system of government. This is to overrate his achievement, great as that was; and indeed, considering the vast size of the province and the means at his disposal, such a result would have been little short of a miracle. Moreover, Hastings had been followed by Macpherson, whose timid rule left matters worse than he found them. When Cornwallis arrived, therefore, there was plenty of scope for wide-reaching reforms; and if he sometimes fell into error, his honest and capable endeavours resulted in a very large measure of success. In consequence his name stands high among the British rulers of India, and Dr. Aspinall's discriminating examination of his achievement will still further add to his reputation.

W. F.

ORIGIN AND GROWTH OF CASTE IN INDIA, by NRI-
FENDRA KUMAR DUTT, M.A., PH.D. Vol. I.
(c. 2000-300 B.C.) 9×5½ in.; pp. xi+310.
London, Kegan Paul, Trench, Trubner & Co.,
1931.

This is the first of three volumes in which the

author proposes to give "a systematic and comprehensive history of caste" from the earliest known times to the end of the nineteenth century. The first chapter contains a very brief notice of some of the views of a few earlier writers regarding the characteristics and origin of the caste system. It concludes with the author's own ideas as to the most important factors in the development of caste. No mention is made of the influence which the panchayats of the functional groups had in producing the extreme rigidity which distinguishes the caste system from all other social groupings. The author draws attention to the distinction between class (*varna*) and caste (*jāti*), but asserts that had there been no *varna* "system" there would have been no caste system, and describes as the Magna Carta of the latter the well known *Purusha* hymn in the *Ṛig Veda*, which says that the Brāhmaṇ came from the mouth of Purusha, the Rājanya from his arms, the Vaiśya from his thighs and the Śūdra from his feet. He admits, however, that this hymn is "a comparatively later composition." He recognises the absurdity of Manu's theory that all the modern castes are descended from the four *varnas* by a variety of mixed marriages; but says that a good many castes were formed in this way.

The rest of the volume is a very useful repertory of the various references to class and caste which are to be found in the *Ṛig Veda*, the *Brāhmaṇas* and the *Sūtras*, as well as in Buddhistic and Greek literature. From the material thus provided it seems clear (a) that the four *varnas* of the *Ṛig Veda*, which the author regards as "the mainspring of the caste system," were in fact mere classificatory terms like the upper, middle and lower classes of our own country, and did not contain even the germs of the caste system, and (b) that Risley was correct in thinking that the fourfold division of the people was not recognised when the "Aryans" first came to India. In the time of the *Ṛig Veda* the office of *purohita* had not become hereditary and there was no insurmountable barrier between the Brāhmaṇs and the rest of the "Aryan" community. Inter-marriage was permissible, and persons of exceptional ability could gain admittance to the Brāhmaṇical fold. There are very few references in the *Ṛig Veda* to the distinctions existing among non-Brāhmaṇs. The term Rājanya indicated men belonging to the ruling families, and there is nothing to show that a separate warrior caste (*Kṣatriya*) had then been formed. The term Vaiśya occurs only in the *Purusha* hymn. Its root, *viś*, which is of frequent occurrence, simply means the common people, and includes besides the cultivators, persons following various occupations. No occupation was regarded as degrading and some were

freely followed by Brāhmanas. The internal distinctions amongst the "Aryans" were very slight compared with those between the "Aryans" as a body and the earlier black inhabitants or Dāsas, who are termed Śūdras only in the *Purusha* hymn. These were regarded with contempt, but masters cohabited with their black female slaves, and there is nothing to show that association with the Dāsas caused pollution. Nor had the idea arisen that impurity attached to certain occupations and social practices. All classes ate beef and drank strong drinks. The rules of exogamy, on which such stress is laid in the *Sūtras*, had not come into existence in R̥g-Vedic times.

During the *Brāhmaṇa* period "Aryan" rule was extended over a large indigenous population, and the process of social segmentation obtained a marked development. The "Aryans" gradually withdrew from all occupations involving manual labour and came to regard industrial work with contempt. The term Śūdra was now applied to the non-Aryan servants and craftsmen, and a fifth *varṇa* emerged to include the unclean castes such as Nishāda and Chāṇḍāla. But there was still no legal bar to the Brāhmanas taking wives from other "Aryans," and there was still intercourse between Aryan masters and their female servants, so that in the Gangetic valley "the 'Aryans' absorbed a good deal of non-Aryan blood." Even in the *Sūtra* period many groups of non-Aryans "silently entered the fold of the twice-born." But class distinctions had now become much more rigid; ideas regarding the impurity of certain practices and kinds of food came into vogue and rules were made regarding untouchability.

The Bibliography to Chapter I does not include such well known works as Crooke's *Castes and Tribes of the North West Provinces and Oudh*, Russell's *Castes and Tribes of the Central Provinces*, and Jogendranath Bhattacharyya's *Hindu Castes and Sects*. Only two census reports are mentioned.

E. A. G.

THE PALLAVA GENEALOGY. By THE REV. H. HERAS, S.J. Indian Historical Research Institute. Bombay, 1931. Size 11 x 13 inches.

The study of Indian history is entangled in controversies from which there seems no escape. It is not the dates only that are elusive; the early rulers of S. India concealed their identity in such a variety of aliases that it is hard to decide who is who. Some bits of evidence will not fit into the picture at all; others seem to fit equally well in a dozen different places. When, in 1908, the Vayalūr Pillar inscription was discovered, with a list of 54 Pallava kings, it was hoped that, for the Pallava puzzle at least, a key had been found. But 54 reigns, at a modest average of four to a century, would require 1360 years; Vayalūr, in

short, presents a new problem, not a solution of old ones.

Father Heras tries a fresh approach. Setting aside for the moment considerations of palaeography and chronology, he tabulates side by side the royal names embodied in 45 Pallava inscriptions; from left to right the chart covers over ten feet of space, but folded in concertina form it is surprisingly easy to manipulate, and the lists assume a very definite pattern. Relying mainly on the Vēlūr-pālaiyam plates, and treating the Prākṛit and Sanskrit grants as of one and the same family, and the Vayalūr inscription as a patchwork of different and overlapping documents, Father Heras groups the aliases into a compact scheme of 24 kings, whose genealogy he depicts in a second chart. In a third chart he correlates the aliases, and he justifies his conclusions in a small brochure of 27 pages. His list starts with Kālabhartri-Bappa; his 5th king, Skandavarman I, who used both Prākṛit and Sanskrit, was the first to establish Pallava rule in Conjeeveram. The 8th king, Skandavarman II, he suggests, lost Conjeeveram to the Chōlas as a sequel to the defeat of his son Vishnugōpa by Samudragupta, and it was not till the reign of the 14th king, Simhaviṣṇu, that Conjeeveram was regained. Father Heras is a bit uneasy as to the synchronism of Vishnugōpa with Samudragupta, and the period of 200 years which he assigns to the Chōla interregnum is rather long, for between Vishnugōpa and Simhaviṣṇu only one generation intervenes. Nor does he bring the Pallavas into relation with their Āndhra predecessors. Nevertheless his construction is a courageous effort, and the acceptance of his conclusions would solve many tiresome riddles. There is a slight slip on p. 10 of the brochure; the words "former" and "latter" should be transposed.

F. J. RICHARDS.

O ORIENTE PORTUGUÊS (*The Portuguese East*), No. 1, December, 1931. Nova Goa, Imprensa Gonçalves, 1931.

A word of welcome must be offered on the re-appearance of this Review, the organ of the Permanent Archaeological Commission of Portuguese India. The opening number is devoted to a series of articles on the capitals of Goa. There is first a review of the inscriptions and references in the chronicles to the history of the place before the Portuguese conquest; this is followed by a long description of the religious foundations, and then an account of the various movements of the seat of government in Portuguese times. Numerous photographs add to the interest of a volume which may justly be described as a substantial contribution to local history.

W. H. M.

KASHMIRI RIDDLES.

BY PANDIT ANAND KOUL, PRESIDENT, ŚRĪNAGAR MUNICIPALITY (*Retired*).

RIDDLES raise a momentary sensation of wonder and afford a light intellectual pastime, the intention underlying them being to tease but, at the same time, to please. They have a psychological value; they not only neutralize cares by diverting the thoughts, but also cause amusement on their being guessed or solved. By the shrewd-thinking they demand, even the dullest boy or girl feels a sense of keenness mingled with delight, and learns the art of being cheerful as well as of giving exercise to the brain—an art which tunes up the brain for the day's work and quickens it to think logically and precisely and, in fact, serves to improve its powers generally.

Children are carried by the current of curiosity born of variety. When other things begin to pall on them, riddles serve as pills to purge melancholy out of their tender, sensitive hearts. Nay more, they arouse wonder fraught with amusement and make them prattle and play in a mood, now grave, now gay. The solution may not dawn all at once, but when it does, a smile of pleasure lights up the solver's features.

Kāshmirī not being a written language, the riddles current among the people (most of which evince shrewdness coupled with scintillating humour) have been transmitted orally from generation to generation. This literature, therefore, constitutes a relic of ancient folklore. Fixed and unalterable enigmatical expressions of the ancients as they are, they appeal most to students of anthropology, philology and research. Moreover, such materials, though seemingly insignificant, are of the utmost value and importance to the historian, as they contribute towards building up the ancient history of the people. They are peculiarly valuable in shedding light upon the hazy and remote past of the Kāshmirī, who is characterized by conservative proclivities and adherence to things antique, and whose golden age is made up of elements borrowed from the picturesque and hoary past.

Prompted by the considerations stated above, I have collected all the riddles at present current among the Kāshmirīs, and give them in the following pages. Well might one soliloquize:—Happy the country, whose old, almost lost, literature is revived and rendered imperishable by that supreme art of preservation and circulation, which can defy destruction by Time—printing.

1.

Ablaḡ guri myāni shahsawāro!

Kadala tārtam wārawāro.

Maḡ chy na ta bu pārayo.

O my piebald horse (and) horseman!

Carry me slowly across the bridge.

Thou hast not got the tresses,¹ and I shall plait them for thee.

Answer:—Wooden sandals.

2.

Aḡ gaz māmani doḡ gaz pūts.

A head-sheet one and half yards long for an aunt half a yard in stature.

Answer:—Needle and thread.

3.

Ākāshi watshāyi budhā, pātāla lajēs zanga.

Illa bi-l-lāhi! ts'nga, pāits gām jāgīr manga.

An old woman descended from the sky, her feet touched the earth.

¹ Tresses refer to the strings over the toes.

There is none but God ! I will rejoice, I will ask five villages as *jāgr*.

Answer :—Snow.

4.

Akhā ākāshiy, byākhā nākāshiy, trākha gharas rāchiy—

Timan tran chu kunuy nāv.

One is in the sky, the second is in the *non*-sky, the third is guarding the door—

These three are of one and the same name.

Answer :—*Gāñh*, viz., (1) *gāñh* (kite), (2) *shishar-gāñh* (icicle), (3) *gāñh* (bolt).

5.

Akhā kund, yaḍ bharān ; byākhā huk, ās mudrāwān ; trākha parān Vedata Purān—

Timan tran chu kunuy nāv.

One being a thorn, satisfies one's stomach ; the second being dry, sweetens one's palate ; the third reads the Vedas and Purāṇas—

These three are of one and the same name.

Answer :—*Gor*, viz. (1) *gor* (water-chestnut), (2) *gor* (molasses), and (3) *gor* (priest).

6.

Andar kuṭhey gandharv sabhā ; timay bihit tāh ba tāh ;

Inside the room is an assembly of *gandharvas*² ; they are sitting in regular rows.

Answer :—Teeth.

7.

Asey pondey, zosey, zāmey ;

Nit snān kari tirthan ;

Warīh wāryas nonuy āsey.

*Nishi chuy ; ta parzantan.*³

It laugheth, sneezeth, cougheth, yawneth ;

It ceaselessly batheth in holy pools ;

It is naked from year's end to year's end.

It is nigh to thee ; recognize it.

Answer :—Face.

8.

Asmāni pakān kakāyā ;

Zangan malit kirmāyā ;

Achin walit burqāyā.

So kosa myāni pīrabhāyā ?

A bird is flying in the sky ;

Her feet are tinged with red dye ;

Her eyes are covered with a veil.

Which priestess of mine is she ?

Answer :—A swallow.

² The *gandharvas* are a class of demi-gods, who inhabit Indra's heaven and form the orchestra at all the banquets.

³ This is one of the sayings of Lāl Dēd, the hermitess (see page 65 of Sir George Grierson's *Lālā-Vākyañi*).

9.

Āyeyas ta gayeyas ;
Ku ku lanji becheyas ;
Mudar āsam ta kut gayas ?
 I came and went away ;
 I perched on various branches ;
 It was sweet to me, and whither did it go ?

Answer :—Sleep.

10.

Bāla pētha minimar ush trāwān.
 A doe is shedding tears on a hill.

Answer :—Straining boiled rice in a pot.

11.

Bar dit khar natsān.
 An ass is dancing with the door shut.

Answer :—A mill grinding corn.

12.

Baras pēth kāla-shāhmār
Laṭ ta ās milavit ;
Ora āyas kenkalat,
Laṭ nīnas gilavit.
 A black snake is on the door
 With tail and mouth joined ;
 A lizard came up ;
 It twisted away its tail.

Answer :—Padlock and key.

13.

Buthi bhasm, sanyāsi chukho ;
Athi lūr, pyāda chukho ;
Dhas dhas karawun day chukho ;
Pati kīni yet, krāl chukho.
 Thou art a mendicant, thy face being covered with ashes ;
 Thou art a footman, a stick being in thy hand .
 Thou art a god, making a rumbling sound ;
 Thou art a potter, with a basket on thy back.

Answer :—Corn grinding-mill.

14.

Chetis ubras krihin kār.
Timay karān tāv tāv.
 In the white cloud are black crows.
 They are calling " Caw ! caw ! "

Answer :—Writing on white paper.

15.

Darakhtī jānawarā, darakhtas chu na hihān.
Baiza-kashī be-shumār, phāh chuk na zāh diwān.
 A tree bird, [but it] does not sit on the tree ;
 It produces innumerable eggs, [but] never hatches them.

Answer :—Fish : likened to a bird because of its fins, which are compared with wings.

16.

*Dosi pēth kum-yāj ;**Na pilēs cāni māj**Na pilēs myāni māj.*

A cake of chaff is on the wall :

Neither thy mother can reach it

Nor my mother can reach it.

Answer :—The moon.

17.

*Ek mashīdey do darwāza.**Āó miyān, tráo puṭāsa.*

A mosque with two doors.

(Come, Sir, [and] let off a cracker.

Answer :—Blowing the nose.

18.

*“ Hā tango, nāli tango ! tāj phuturtham kalas pēth.**“ Hā bastī ! sūra bastī ! chus bu jānawār.**“ Guran guriy ! rangatsariy ! tāli kiṭur kyāh ?**“ Tshēn tsēmbar ! nasti tsēmbar ! yeti bīṭhak kyāh ? ”**“ O pear, green pear ! thou hast broken the crown of my head.**“ O bag-like ! O ash-bag-like [creature] ! I am a bird. [I have done it.]**“ O thou greedy of small fish ! O bird of colour ! what is that long needle on thy head ?**“ O thou cut-nose ! [with a] tiny nose ! why didst thou sit there ? ”*

Answer :—The blue heron with a long feather growing on its head, and a frog.

19.

Heri watsh haṭ ta bar-hangan raṭ.

A chip of wood came down-stairs and was caught by the top of the door.

Answer :—A comb.

20.

Heri wuth Paṇḍit tre deṇṭāni gandit.

A Paṇḍit came down-stairs with three girdles girt.

Answer :—A load of timber.

21.

Heri wuth Paṇḍit wozali jāma gandit.

A Paṇḍit came down-stairs wearing red-coloured clothes.

Answer :—Red pepper.

22.

*Hila hilay cilas tsāv**Mukhta-hār gandit drāv.**Yāni būzuk āv āv,**Tāni lokan zuwā tsāv.*

With effort did it enter the period of forty days,

It came out with a necklace of pearls about it.

No sooner they heard of its coming

Than the people got life.

Answer :—Paddy or corn.

23.

*Kachyan, katshan, kohan gayi zîr,
Kâbul, Qandahâr, Dihlî, Kashmîr.*

Grass, twigs [and] hills received a shaking
Throughout Kâbul, Qandahâr, Delhi (and) Kashmîr.

Answer :—Earthquake.

24.

*Khâm mewah pup kyâ ?
Odur mewah mudur kyâ ?
Which fruit, while raw, is ripe ?
Which fruit, while wet, is sweet ?*

Answer :—The cucumber and the mulberry.

25.

Khyun, cyun, trukun, wâri wawun ta gâv kyut khurâk.
Eatable, drinkable, crushable, seed for garden and food for the cow.

Answer :—A water-melon.

26.

Kuchihanâ âsam tathi âsam tsoray khâr wâtân.
I had a little godown, which contained only four *kharwârs*.

Answer :—A walnut with its four segments of kernel.

27.

Lam tal tham sat.
Seven pillars underneath a mound.

Answer :—The udders of a bitch.

28.

Lam tal tham tsor.
Four pillars underneath a mound.

Answer :—The udders of a cow.

29.

*Manz maidânas Haidar Hâjî,
Kami jânan begâri lâjî ?
In the middle of the plain is Haidar Hâjî,
Which person imposed forced labour upon him ?*

Answer :—A husking mill.

30.

Mâmatsi hastini zinda andram.
Live intestines in a dead female elephant.

Answer :—The inmates of a house.

31.

*Pântsav Pândavav pal tul,
Dituk dârit Lukhari Yâr,
Bitsi mâji dhakka ditus,
Pëv wâtît Khâdan Yâr.
Five Pândavas lifted up a rock [and]
Hurled it to Lukhari Yâr⁴ ;*

⁴ Lukhari Yâr (a corruption of Lauki Śrī Yâr) is the name of a *ghât* on the right bank of the Jhelum, near the sixth bridge at Śrinagar, where a fair is held on the 13th of the bright fortnight of Bhâdon (August-September). Khâdan Yâr is the name of a *ghât* at the north-western end of the Kashmir Valley, where a fair is held on the same date.

The weak mother gave it a push,
It reached Khâdan Yâr suddenly.

Answer :—A morsel of food raised with five fingers of the hand and
swallowed down by means of the tongue into the stomach.

32.

Pëwân chu mohâ zan,
Samân chu kohâ zan,
Tsalân chu tsûra zan.
It falls like a mosquito,
It accumulates like a hill,
It flees away like a thief.

Answer :—Snow.

33.

Sarâ dyûthum bođ,
Tel phul wâtës na ođ.
I saw a large lake,
[But] half a grain of sesamum cannot fit into it.
Answer :—Nipple or teat.

34.

Saras manz mâmani pyâyi
Wadavi gais, tsup hëni âyi.
Aunt gave birth to a child in a lake ;
We went to congratulate her, [and] she came to bite.
Answer :—*Jewar al-juwur (Euryale ferox)*. Its thorns prick the hand on
touching it.

35.

Saras manz palyâri hanâ.
There is a small fence round a lake.
Answer :—Eye-lashes.

36.

Saras manz sarâ bođ,
Sir phul wâtës na ođ.
There is a large lake within a lake,
[But] it cannot contain even one-half of a broken grain of rice.
Answer :—The pupil of the eye.

37.

Satranji watharit, shungân na kânĥ.
Phulmut pumphosh tsaťân na kânĥ.
Mûdmut râza, wadân na kânĥ.
The durries are spread ; nobody sleeps [on them].
The lotus has blossomed ; nobody plucks it.
The king is dead ; nobody weeps.
Answer :—A frozen pool of water ; the moon ; a snake.

38.

Shiyitrah dâri ta shiyitrah bar chis ;
Shiyitrah gaz bhar panâĥ chus.
Râzas watskayo rats wâsanâ.
Tâjas pêĥ suna manâ chus.

It has thirty-six windows [and] thirty-six doors
 It is thirty-six yards in width.
 The king happened to get a good impulse [i.e., to build it].
 There is a maund of gold on its spires.
 Answer :—The Jâmi' Masjid.

39.

Shupri shupri hëndavënd,
Shráki sati kapañân,
Biyyi tithuiy sapadân.
 A water-melon, slantingly
 Cut into parts with a knife,
 Becomes whole again.
 Answer :—Clothing.

40.

Suna sanzi dârey rupa sanza lanjey,
'Arifan dup Zârifas yima kami ganjey.
 Branches of silver [are tied] to a golden window,
 'Arif asked Zârif as to who had tied them.
 Answer :—A cobweb.

41.

Tali tali talâv khanân,
Râza dwâran lût karân.
 It digs a pond underneath.
 It plunders the houses of great people.
 Answer :—A mouse.

42.

Tîlawân nēcivis suna sund tyuk.
 An oilman's son with a golden mark on his forehead.
 Answer :—An oil-lamp.

43.

Trë katshal kacey pût,
Kâth bâth tsâpân chu,
Pipyul hyû natsân chu.
 A lamb with three armpits,
 Is eating up timber [and] twigs [and]
 Is dancing like a black-pepper.
 Answer :—An oven.

44.

Tshar chēm ta bhar chēm ;
Râja sandi bâgh chēm ;
Dushdûla yalit chēm ;
Mukhta-mâla gandit chēm.
 It is empty and it is full ;
 It is in the Râja's garden ;
 It is covered with a pair of shawls
 It is wearing necklaces of pearls.
 Answer :—An ear of Indian corn.

45.

*Tsu zangû, tsodâh zangû,**Uk zangû kulis pêth ;**Tasunâ mâtz pâdshâh mangû.**Timan trên chu kunuy nâv.*

[First] having four feet, [second] having 14 feet,

[Third] having one foot on a tree,

Its meat is desired by a king.

These three have one name.

Answer :—*Khar* (ass) ; *khar* (worm) ; *kharbuz* (musk-melon).

46.

Wozalis gânas chêtî kacipâtî.

White lambs in a red-coloured stable.

Answer :—Teeth in the mouth.

47.

Yâni zâv tâni khut kâniy pêth.

As soon as it was born it ascended to the uppermost storey.

Answer :—Smoke.

48.

*Yapâri bâl shîn wâlân ;**Apâri bâl doth wâlân.*

This side of the hill snow is falling ;

That side of the hill hail is falling.

Answer :—A cotton-carding mill.

49.

*Yath saras sariphol nâ vêtsiy,**Tath sari sakaliy poni cên ;**Mrag, srugâl, gandi, zala-hastiy**Zên nâ zên ta totuy pên.⁵*

It is a lake so tiny that in it a mustard-seed finds no room,

Yet from that lake every one drinks water ;

And into it deer, jackals, rhinoceroses and sea-elephants

Keep falling, almost before they have time to become born.

Answer :—A mother's nipple.

50.

*Yira watshov khaira nêcuwâ samudaras tshânî,**Danda-mâlan shroni karân, shînas wafân mânî.*

A rude boy came swimming down a sea,

He was jingling his teeth, [and] rolling up avalanches of snow.

Answer :—A churning-stick, separating butter from the milk.

51.

*Zethêm zyâthu razâ hyû, prat kânh tas nishi khotsân chu ;**Pakhar na ty khorav na ty, zorav satin pakân chu.*

Long like a rope, every one afraid of it ;

Neither with wings nor with feet, [but] by its own force does it move.

Answer :—A snake.

⁵ This is a saying of Lâl Dêd, the hermitess. (See page 66 of Sir George Grierson's *Lalkî-Vâkyîni*.)

RÃO CHANDRASEN, A FORGOTTEN HERO OF RAJPUTANA.

BY PANDIT BISHESHWAR NATH REU.

THE name of the heroic Mahārāṇā Pratāp of Mewār, and the memory of his noble deeds thrill with emotion the heart of every true Indian—young or old—even to this day. But the deeds of Rão Chandrasen, the first hero of Rājasthān, who in defending his independence against the covetousness of the great Mughal emperor Akbar, sacrificed his ancestral throne and took every kind of calamity upon himself, and whose path was followed by Mahārāṇā Pratāp¹ after an interval of about ten years, are comparatively unknown to history. Further, it has been said that the latter, being much distressed by the miseries of his children, once harboured the idea of acknowledging the supremacy of the emperor, but no such idea ever entered the head of our hero. Owing to the vicissitudes of fortune, however, his name is forgotten even in his own domains.

The Story of Rao Chandrasen.

Rão Chandrasen, the hero of this biographical sketch, was born on the 8th day of the dark half of Śrāvaṇa, 1598 v.s. (16th July 1541 A.D.). He was the fourth² son of Rão Māldev,³ the well known and powerful ruler of Mārwar, who, by the force of his arms, had acquired supremacy among all the contemporary rulers of Rājputānā, and whose shelter was sought by Humāyūn,⁴ the emperor of India, in his days of adversity, and by whose might the pride of Sher Shāh,⁵ the Paṭhān emperor of India, was humbled. Towards the close of Māldev's reign a large part of his dominions had gone out of his possession owing to family discord.

On the demise of Rão Māldev, Rão Chandrasen, in accordance with the wishes of his father, was installed upon the throne of Mārwar on the first day of the dark half of Mārgaśīrṣa, 1619 v.s. (11th November 1562 A.D.), shortly after which some of his nobles, being displeased with him as a result of an insignificant incident,⁶ began to intrigue with his three elder brothers.⁷ The latter were persuaded to raise trouble in different quarters. His eldest brother, Rām, rebelled in Sojat, the second, Rāyamāl, towards Dundara, while the third, Udaisingh, having made a surprise attack, took the two villages Baori and Gangani. At this Rão Chandrasen immediately marched against Udaisingh, who, relinquishing the possession of his newly acquired villages, retreated towards Phalodi. At Lohāwat, however, he was overtaken and wounded by the Rão in a battle which resulted in a victory for the latter. After sometime Rão Chandrasen again prepared to invade Phalodi at the time when the

¹ Mahārāṇā Pratāp died on the 11th day of the bright half of Māgha, 1653 v.s. (15th January 1597 A.D.)

² When only a child of three, i.e., in 1600 v.s. (1543 A.D.), he was granted the big fief of Siwāna and Bīsalpur, where he used to live when of age. A day after his father's death he hastened to Jodhpur to try his luck in taking the reins of government into his hands according to the wish of his father. When a king, he granted the fief of Siwāna to his elder brother, Rão Rāyamāl (the second son of the deceased Rão).

³ In the preface to the *Tūzūk-i-Jahāngīrī* it is stated; "Rão Māldev was a very great and powerful Rāja, whose army consisted of 80,000 cavalry. Although Rāṇā Saṅga, who had fought with Bābur, possessed equal wealth and ammunition, yet in respect of dominions and arms, Rão Māldev surpassed him. Whenever Rão Māldev fought with Rāṇā Saṅga the former was victorious," (Persian text, published by Nawāl Kishor Press, Lucknow, p. 7.)

⁴ In the *Ṭabaqāt-i-Akbarī* it is stated:—"The Emperor Humāyūn, obliged by circumstances, started towards Māldev, who was at that time among the big Rājas of Hindūstān and to whom no other Rāja was equal in respect of power and army." (Persian text, published by Nawāl Kishor Press, Lucknow, p. 205.)

⁵ "Thank God, at any cost victory has been attained, otherwise I would have lost the empire of Hindūstān for a handful of millet." (*Tārīkh-i-Firishta* text, published by Nawāl Kishor Press, Lucknow, Part I, p. 228, and *Muntakhabu 'l-lubāb* text, published by the Bengal Asiatic Society, Part I, p. 101.)

⁶ An offender having deserted the court of the Rão, took shelter with one of the nobles named Jaitamāl (son of Jaisa). When he was arrested and brought back, the said noble requested the Rão to punish him in any way other than death. Incensed at this uncalled for interference, the Rão ordered the unfortunate wretch to be instantly put to death. Jaitamāl and his colleagues did not like this.

⁷ At this time the three elder brothers of the Rão were in their respective *jāgīrs*. The eldest, Rām, was at Sojat; the second, Rāyamāl, at Siwāna; and the third, Udaisingh, at Phalodi.

power of the Mughal emperor Akbar was fast rising. But some considerate nobles intervened and made peace between the two brothers, as they (the nobles) apprehended danger to the Rāthor power through family dissensions at such a time.

In 1620 v.s. (1563 A.D.) the Rāo led an army against his eldest brother Rām. At first Rām came out and opposed the army of the Rāo at Nadol.⁸ But, seeing no chance of victory, he went to Husain Quli Beg, the imperial officer at Nāgaur, stated his prior claim by primogeniture to the throne of Mārwar, and asked for help. Husain Quli, seeing a chance of benefitting himself by this internal discord, readily accepted the proposal and suddenly laid siege to Jodhpur. The Rāo fought for some days, but being obliged by the shortage of provisions to make peace,⁹ agreed to restore Sojat to Rām and to pay indemnities of war to Husain Quli Beg. In consequence, the possessions of the Rāo were limited to the districts of Jodhpur, Jaitaran and Pokaran only. But after the return of the Muhammadan army the terms of the treaty were not fulfilled to the satisfaction of Rām. He therefore approached the emperor in 1621 v.s. (1564 A.D.) for help. As this was a good chance for Akbar to avenge his father's¹⁰ wrongs, he accepted the request of Rām and sent an army under Muḡaffar Khān. Simultaneously, he ordered Husain Quli Beg to dispossess the Rāo of Jodhpur and settle Rām at Sojat. Husain Quli, accordingly, laid siege to Jodhpur, but the Rāo bravely defended the fort. When the imperial army failed to take the fort by open attack it attempted to enter it by an inlet¹¹ towards the Rānīsāgar tank, but in vain.

As the siege continued for many months, provisions failed, and the leading sardārs therefore prevailed upon the Rāo to escape. He, reluctantly, went to Bhadrājan¹² with his family, while his sardārs, who remained behind, fought in open battle and died glorious deaths. The imperial army then took possession of the fort.

The following is an extract from the *Akbarnāmā* ¹³ :—

“After the accession of Chandrasen to the throne the imperial army besieged Jodhpur. Hearing this, Rām, the eldest son of Rāo Māldev, came and joined them. From there he went to the emperor who bestowed honours upon him and sent him to Husain Quli Beg with a fresh army under Muīnu' d-dīn Khān and others. The imperial army soon took the fort.”

The Rāo collecting men and money began to harass the Muhammadans now and then. In 1627 v.s. (1570 A.D.—978 A.H.), when the emperor, after visiting Ajmer, reached Nāgaur, many princes of Rājputānā attended his court there.¹⁴ The Rāo, too, went there to read

⁸ Another version is that it was Rāo Rām who, with the assistance of Mahārāṇā Udaisingh, had at first marched out in order to obtain the throne of Mārwar.

⁹ It is stated in *Tārīkh-i-Palanpur* (Part I, page 77) that Mirzā Sharfu'd-dīn rebelled against Akbar and invaded Mertā after the demise of Rāo Māldev, and that Rāo Chandrasen saved Mertā by concluding a peace with him in 1615 v.s. (1559 A.D.). These facts are doubtful, for Mertā had been made over to Jaimal by Sharfu'd-dīn during the lifetime of Rāo Māldev. After this, when Sharfu'd-dīn rebelled, Akbar took Mertā from Jaimal and made it over to Jagmāl. Sharfu'd-dīn rebelled in 1620 v.s. (1563 A.D.—971 A.H.), while Rāo Māldev died in 1619 v.s.

¹⁰ When Humāyūn had sought the assistance of Rāo Māldev against Sher Shāh, his followers had slaughtered a cow in Mārwar. Displeased with this, the Rāo (Māldev) had desisted from helping him, and Humāyūn had to turn back disappointed.

¹¹ This inlet is meant for carrying water to the fort from the tank.

¹² This event is stated in the chronicles to have occurred on the 12th day of the dark half of Mārga-sīrṣa, 1622 v.s. (19th November 1565 A.D.).

¹³ *Akbarnāmā*, text published by Bengal Asiatic Society, vol. II, p. 197.

¹⁴ Udaisingh, the third son of Rāo Māldev, and Rāo Kalyānmal and his son Rāyasingh of Bikaner, etc., had an interview with the emperor at this place. The emperor deputed Udaisingh to suppress the Gūjar rising in Samaoli, keeping at court Rāyasingh, to whom afterwards the administration of Jodhpur was also entrusted. Rāo Rām was also appointed in Jodhpur to help in guarding the highway to Gujarāt.

It is stated in the *Ṭabaqāt-i-Akbarī* that Akbar reached Nāgaur on the 16th *Jumādā 'L-akhīr*, 977 A.H. (3rd day of the dark half of Pausa, 1626 v.s.—corresponding with the 26th November 1569 A.D.) and sojourned there for 50 days (p. 289). But in the *Akbarnāmā* this event is said to have occurred in 978 A.H. (1570 A.D.). (Vol. II, pp. 357-58.)

his mind, and was received by the emperor with due honour. His inward desire was that if the Râo were to own his allegiance, even in name, he might restore Jodhpur to him. But the unbending nature of the Râo defied all courtly allurements and he returned to Bhadrâjan, rejecting the offers of the emperor. Soon after this the imperial army laid siege to Bhadrâjan.

The Râo defended it for some time, but as provisions here also failed, he went to Siwâna.

In 1629 v.s. (1572 A.D.) the Râo made a recruiting tour, and on his way, when encamped at Kanuja (district Jaitaran), Ratan, son of Khinva, the chieftain of Asarlai, disregarded a summon to his court. The Râo, therefore, marched on Asarlai and laid it waste.

Next year (1630 v.s.=1573 A.D.) the inhabitants of the town of Bhinaya (district Ajmer) approached him for protection against the depredations of Mâdalia, the Bhîl chieftain. Accepting their appeal, the Râo attacked the residence of the Bhîl. As many other Bhîls of the neighbourhood happened to be there taking part in some ceremony, they all took up arms to repulse the attack; but as soon as Mâdalia was killed they all fled,¹⁵ leaving the place and the district in the possession of the Râo.

The same year (i.e., 1630 v.s.=981 A.H.) Akbar despatched a strong army to take Siwâna.¹⁶ Besides the Muhammadan commanders, Shâh Qulî, etc., Hindu princes and chiefs, like Râyasingh of Bikaner, Keshavadâs of Mertâ and Jagat Râya, were also deputed to accompany it. As the emperor was very anxious that the Râo might be made to own allegiance, he had instructed his commanders to try to win him over by promises of imperial favour. At first the army went towards Sojat, where it defeated prince Kallâ,¹⁷ a nephew of the Râo, and thence set out for Siwâna, taking his (the Râo's) relatives Keshavadâs, Maheshdâs and Prithvirâj along with it. When this large army came near Siwâna,¹⁸ plundering the surrounding country and defeating those who made opposition, the retainers of the Râo suggested that he should take refuge in the neighbouring hills and await his opportunity.

Chandrasen, accordingly, went into the hills, leaving the defence of the fort to his commander-in-chief, Râthor Pattâ, but he let slip no opportunity of harassing the besieging army upon its flanks and rear. The garrison, too, gave a good account of itself. Though the besieging army was large and formidable, yet neither the Râo nor his retainers were discomfited. In 1621 v.s. (982 A.H.), disappointed at the state of affairs, Râo Râyasingh, who then administered Mârwar on behalf of the emperor, left Siwâna for Ajmer and informed the emperor that the army deputed to Siwâna was not adequate to capture the fort, and that reinforcements were necessary.¹⁹ The emperor thereupon sent Taiyîb Khân, Saiyid Beg Toqbâi, Subhân Qulî Khân Turk, Kharram, Azmat Khân, Shivadâs, etc., with a large army to

¹⁵ From that day the following proverb has been current in Mârwar :—*मादलियो मारियो नै गोड बीखरी*, i.e., 'as soon as Mâdalia (the Bhîl chief) was killed the guests to the feast dispersed.'

Bhinaya is in the possession of the descendants of Râo Chandrasen to this day.

It is stated in the *Chiefs and Leading Families of Râjpûtânâ* (1916) that Chandrasen, the son of Râo Mâldev of Mârwar (1531) came to Ajmer, and having by stratagem intoxicated Mâdalia, the chief of a band of Bhîls who ravaged the country near Bhinai, slew him and dispersed his followers. For this service Bhinai and seven other parganas were bestowed on him in *jâgîr* by the emperor Akbar. (See pp. 96-98.)

¹⁶ *Akbarnâmâ*, vol. III, pp. 80-81.

¹⁷ Prince Kallâ at first bravely opposed the imperial army, but being outnumbered, was eventually obliged to leave Sojat and take refuge in the fortress of Siriari. The imperial army, finding it difficult to take this latter place, set fire to it, which obliged Kallâ to retreat to Korna. Being pursued to this place, too, he had to conclude peace, and though exempted himself, upon some pretext, from attendance, he had to send his relatives to the court.

¹⁸ The allies of Râo Chandrasen, Râval Mezharâj, Sukharâj, Suja and Devidâs, had bravely fought with batches of the imperial army that had been plundering in the neighbourhood. (*Akbarnâmâ*, vol. III, p. 81.)

¹⁹ *Akbarnâmâ*, vol. III, pp. 110-111.

Siwāna. The strength of the imperial army being thus augmented, the Rāo, at the request of his sardārs, escaped via Rampura to the hills. The emperor resented the escape of the Rāo, and reproached his commanders.

Next, in 1632 v.s. (983 A.H.) Jalāl Khān was deputed²⁰ to suppress the Rāo, and Saiyid Aḥmad, Saiyid Hāshim, Shimāl Khān and other nobles were ordered to accompany him. As the army previously sent suffered continued failure it became disheartened ; and as they had insufficient fodder and had to wander fruitlessly in the hilly tracts, the horses, too, became weak and unserviceable.²¹ The emperor accordingly instructed these newly appointed commanders to relieve it ; and they went to their respective *jāgīrs* to make preparations.

When Jalāl Khān reached Mertā, Rāmsingh, Sultānsingh,²² ‘Āli Qulī, etc., nobles of the Siwāna army, sent him word that, though they were trying their best to suppress the Rāo, yet they had not been able to defeat him, for being himself a brave warrior, surrounded by retainers equally brave, and finding an impregnable shelter in the mountains, he was invincible. But if Jalāl Khān would instantly help them with his army they would achieve some success. Jalāl Khān accordingly marched on Siwāna. Hearing this, the Rāo arranged an ambush to surprise and rout Jalāl Khān on the way ; but somehow the latter got scent of the design and advanced and attacked the Rāo. This unexpected attack upset all his (the Rāo's) plans. For some time further he continued the conflict, till, anticipating the complete destruction of his handful of brave soldiers in fighting against such odds, he again took refuge in the hills.²³

As the imperial army had had a bitter experience in entering the hills in pursuit of such a dangerous enemy as the Rāo, this time they retired to the fortress of Rāmgadh, and from there they tried their best to find out his whereabouts ; but all their efforts proved fruitless. In the meanwhile they learnt through a person who called himself Devidās²⁴ that the Rāo was with his nephew, prince Kallā. On this they went with him to Kallā, who positively denied the information. The army had to return in despair, and Shimāl Khān was much displeased with Devidās. Inviting the latter to his camp under some pretext he tried to make him prisoner, but at the right moment Devidās effected his escape, to the disappointment and shame of Shimāl Khān. Devidās went to Kallā, and, as he was determined to avenge himself on Shimāl Khān, he together with Rāo Chandrasen fell upon the imperial army. In their hurry they mistook Jalāl Khān for Shimāl Khān. However the former was killed. They then proceeded to attack the latter (Shimāl Khān), but by that time Jaimal, at the head of a fresh imperial army, happened to arrive, and the Rāo and Devidās thought it prudent to retire.

This last attack had much reduced the strength of the imperial army, affording an opportunity to prince Kallā (son of Rāmā) of once more trying his luck. He collected men and money, garrisoned the fortress of Devkūr,²⁵ and prepared for battle with the imperial army. To overcome the new difficulty, the imperial army was obliged to give up the siege of Siwāna and prepare for an attack upon Devkūr. The emperor, seeing his prestige

²⁰ *Akbarnāmā* text, published by Bengal Asiatic Society, vol. III, p. 158.

²¹ *Ibid.*, p. 167.

²² These were younger brothers of Rāo Rāyasingh of Bikaner.

²³ *Akbarnāmā*, vol. III, pp. 158-159.

²⁴ The strange story related by this man at Rāmgadh was that he was the same Devidās who was supposed to have been killed in the battle with Sharfu'd-dīn at Mertā ; that when he was left on the field in a senseless state, an ascetic picked him up, took him to his hermitage and healed his wounds ; that he remained with the ascetic for some time and had come with his permission to try his fortune by serving under the imperial banners. He was believed by some of the imperial commanders, while others disbelieved him. (*Akbarnāmā*, vol. III, p. 159.)

²⁵ The site of this fortress remains yet unidentified. (*Akbarnāmā*, vol. III, p. 167.)

endangered, sent more men under Shâhbâz Khân to stamp out the anarchy in these parts. This new general, on reaching Devkûr, saw that the imperial army besieging the fortress was in difficulties. He, therefore, advanced and attacked the fort. This reinforcement greatly added to the strength of the imperial army and the handful of fatigued retainers of prince Kallâ could not withstand its attacks for long. The fortress was captured and Shâhbâz Khân left some troops in it under the Saiyids of Bârha, while he himself proceeded to Siwâna. On his way he fell in with some Râthor warriors stationed in the fortress of Dûnâra,²⁶ to whom he sent proposals for submission with an offer of imperial service. But these brave Râthors, preferring death to loss of independence, engaged the great Mughal army in a furious battle till every one of them had fallen on the field. The Mughals took possession of the fortress and went on to besiege Siwâna. There they relieved and sent back the old army, in accordance with the emperor's instructions. The new general, after some days of strenuous effort, perceived that it would be very difficult to take the fort by fighting in the open with the brave Râthors. He, therefore, had recourse to stratagem, and cut off all supplies for the garrison. Seeing further defence impossible, the commander proposed to evacuate the fort on condition of being allowed to retire peacefully. Shâhbâz Khân welcomed the proposal as he foresaw only loss in pressing the siege further. Thus, after prolonged and severe fighting, the fort of Siwâna came into the possession of Akbar in 1633 v.s. (984 A.H.) and the surviving Râthor defenders retired to the hills of Piplun, where the Râo resided. But still they continued to attack the Mughal army whenever possible.

The same year, in the month of Kârtika (October-November 1576 A.D.), Râval Hañsrâj of Jaisalmer seeing the Râo engaged with the imperial army, invaded Pokaran, which was defended by Pañcholi Ânand Râm, who commanded in behalf of the Râo, for about four months. In the end, no advantage being gained by either side, a treaty was concluded by which the Râval was to advance a loan of one lakh of *phadias* (Rs. 12,300) to the Râo, and the Râo was to hand over the district of Pokaran to the Râval on condition of returning it on the repayment of the loan. Râo Chandrasen, being engaged in war with the Mughals, was in need of money and, therefore, welcomed the treaty.

As the imperial army pursued the Râo even to his mountain fastness of Piplun, he, after fighting for a time, was obliged to retire towards Sirohi,²⁷ Dûngarpur²⁸ and Bâñswârâ.

Later on, when Sojat also fell into the hands of the Mughals on the death of Kallâ on the field of battle, Kumpâvat Sâdûl, son of Maheshdâs, Jetavat Âskaran, son of Devîdâs, and other sardârs of Mârwar went over to the Râo and requested him to return and protect his native land. Accordingly he set out for Mârwar via Mewâr and, routing the imperial post at Sarwâr, took possession of the district in 1636 v.s. (1579 A.D.). Later he overran the adjacent districts of Ajmer also.²⁹ At this the emperor sent an army against him under Pâyanda Muḥammad Khân and others. The Râo, after fighting for some time against these

²⁶ At present there is no fortress at Dûnâra.

²⁷ Râo Chandrasen is said to have stayed here for about a year and a half.

²⁸ It is said that though Râo Chandrasen, owing to the dissension between the Râval and his son, had acquired possession of Dûngarpur fort, he was obliged to vacate it on the arrival of the imperial army.

²⁹ In 988 A.H. (1637 v.s.=1580 A.D.) it was reported that Râo Chandrasen (son of Mâldeva), in spite of his (formerly) attending the imperial court, had rebelled; but being afraid of the imperial army he had awaited an opportunity in his hiding place, and now, finding a chance, had begun to plunder the district of Ajmer. (*Akbarnâmâ*, III, p. 318.)

But Râo Chandrasen had only once met Akbar at Nâgaur in 1627 v.s. (1570 A.D.). A subsequent interview with Akbar is neither mentioned in any of the Persian Chronicles, nor in the *khyâts*. This statement, therefore, must allude to his meeting with the emperor in 1627 v.s.

odds, thought it inadvisable to remain in the open field and retired to the nearest hills in 1637 v.s. (1580 A.D.=988 A.H.).

Shortly after this the Rão again collected men and money, invaded Sojat and took possession of it on the 11th day of the dark half of Śrāvaṇa 1637 v.s. (7th July 1580 A.D.). He then established his residence in the hill fortress of Saran close by, but he did not enjoy the rest for long as he died on the 7th day of the bright half of Māgha 1637 v.s. (11th January 1581 A.D.) at Sachiya. Thus ended the chequered but brilliant career of this unyielding hero of Mārwar.³⁰ On the spot where he was cremated there stands a marble tablet to this day.³¹

Rão Chandrasen was a ruler of very inflexible and independent disposition. He took upon himself the hardships of a wandering life in the mountains after being deprived of his paternal state (Mārwar). He continued to fight for 16 long years with the armies of an emperor like Akbar, and never thought of ending his miseries by yielding to the supremacy of the great Mughal. Even from the *Akbarnāmā* it is evident that it was the ardent desire of the emperor to bring the Rão under his allegiance like other rulers of Rājputānā; he, therefore, used to give special instructions to all the nobles sent against him to try their best to subjugate the Rão by offering imperial favours. But this desire of the emperor was never fulfilled. Rão Chandrasen had three sons,—Ugrasen, Rāyasingh, and Āskaran.³²

At that time the Mahārāṇā (Pratāp) and the Rão (Chandrasen) were the two sharpest thorns in Akbar's side. A contemporary poet has very well expressed this fact in the following couplet :—

अश्वदगिया तुरी ऊजला असमर, चाकर रहष न डिगियौचात ।

सारे हिंदुस्थान तबै सिर, पातन नै चंद्रसेष प्रवीत ॥

i.e., at that time there were only two renowned rulers throughout India, viz., Rāṇā Pratāp and Rão Chandrasen, whose horses could not be enslaved by the imperial brand, who could never be tempted by imperial service, and whose arms ever remained drawn against the imperial armies.

Probable Reasons for the Obscurity of Rão Chandrasen.

The chief reason why the name and history of such a character have been forgotten seems to be that, unlike the case of Mahārāṇā Pratāp of Mewār, the throne of Mārwar was lost to the descendants of our hero—Rão Chandrasen. Some time after his death, his younger brother Udaisingh (*alias* Mōṭā Rājā) got possession of the throne in 1640 v.s. (1583 A.D.) The new ruler had not been on good terms with his brother. The poets and historians of the time probably thought, therefore, that the recital and narration of Chandrasen's heroic deeds would not only be fruitless, but even a cause of displeasure to the contemporary ruler.

We hope true Indians, and especially the Rāthor Rājputs, will cherish in their hearts the memory of the magnanimous Rão like that of Mahārāṇā Pratāp.

³⁰ It is stated in the chronicles of Mārwar that when Rão Chandrasen had taken possession of Sojat a large number of Rāthor sardārs from far and near had flocked to his banner. But Rāthor Bairsāl and Kumpavat Udaisingh, out of pride, paid no heed to him. Rão Chandrasen, therefore, marched upon Dudor, the *jāgīr* of Bairsāl. On the way, as Āskaran, son of Rāthor Devidās, promised to negotiate with Bairsāl and induce him to enter the service of the Rão, the latter gave up the idea of invasion. When, however, Āskaran saw Bairsāl for the purpose, the latter, feigning terror, requested Āskaran to assure him of the favour of the Rão by bringing him (the Rão) to his house for dinner. This was arranged. But soon after his return the Rão suddenly expired; hence treachery on the part of Bairsāl is generally suspected.

³¹ In this tablet there is an image of Rão Chandrasen on horseback along with five ladies standing in front of him, to show that five of his wives became *sati*. This fact is also borne out by the inscription below the image, which runs as follows : श्रीगणेशायनमः । संवत् १६३७ शाके १५ [०] २ माघमासे सू (शु) ऋषि सतिव (सप्तमी) दिने राय श्रीचंद्रसेण जी देवीकुला सती पंच हुई.

³² Rão Chandrasen made a charitable grant of village Arathnadi to a Brāhmaṇ named Śaṅgā.

HISTORICAL DATA IN RĀJASEKHARA'S VIDDHAŚĀLABHAÑJIKĀ.

By V. V. MIRASHI, M.A.

IN an interesting article entitled "The staging of the Viddhaśālabhañjikā" published in a previous issue of this Journal (vol. LX, p. 61 f.), Mr. Dasharatha Sharma has drawn attention to the historical data in the *Viddhaśālabhañjikā* of Rājasekhara. The historical importance of this drama had also struck me as I was studying the inscriptions of the Kalachuris and the works of Rājasekhara, and I wrote an article on the subject which was published in the *Annals of the Bhandarkar Institute*¹ some months before Mr. Sharma's article appeared in this Journal. Mr. Sharma has independently studied this question, and though he agrees with me in some matters, his conclusions in others are different from mine. It is, therefore, necessary to examine the available evidence once more to arrive at the truth. Besides Mr. Sharma's article contains some misstatements which must be corrected to prevent misconception by future historians.

After studying the *Viddhaśālabhañjikā* and the relevant inscriptions Mr. Sharma has drawn the following conclusions.

1. The *Viddhaśālabhañjikā* was staged at the Court of the Kalachuri king Yuvarājadeva I of Tripuri.
2. It commemorates a victory of the Kalachuris over the Rāshtrakūṭa king Govinda IV. This war was undertaken to crown Baddiga-Amoghavarsha III king of Kuntala.

The first of these conclusions is no new discovery. As far back as 1905 the late Dr. Hultsch arrived at the same conclusion and on the same grounds.² As for the second my conclusion is in some respects different from Mr. Sharma's. I agree with him that the play commemorates a victory of the Kalachuris over the Rāshtrakūṭas, but I hold that Yuvarājadeva's antagonist was not Govinda IV, but his own son-in-law, Baddiga-Amoghavarsha III, who had already usurped the throne on the death or murder of Govinda IV. Mr. Sharma says: "Govinda IV seems to have been a man of vicious character, who met his destruction in a rebellion raised by his subjects." It is not quite clear how Govinda IV met his death. The Deoli and Karhad Plates attribute his destruction to his voluptuousness, which undermined his health.³ But the veiled reference in that verse to the disaffection among his subjects, as well as the statement in the next passage that his successor Amoghavarsha was requested by the feudatories⁴ to ascend the throne, may denote that he lost his life in a rebellion of his subjects and feudatories. The latter supposition is also supported by an important passage in the *Vikramārjunaviṣaya* of the Kanarese poet Pampa, where it is said that Arikesarin, a Chālukya chieftain ruling over Jola country (Dhārwar district), conquered the great feudatories sent by the emperor who offered opposition and gave universal sovereignty to Baddiga when he came, placing confidence in him.⁵ It is, however, doubtful if the Chedis had any hand in this revolt. The battle on the bank of the Payoshnī, which is so graphically described in the *Viddhaśālabhañjikā*, could not have been fought with Govinda IV, for in that passage the adversaries of the Chedis, who supported the claim of Virapāla for the throne of Kuntala, are said to be kings of Karpāta, Sindhala, Pāṇḍya, Murala, Āndhra, and Konkāṇa, as well as the lord of Kuntala. Now it is well known that Govinda IV had, by his vicious conduct, displeased all men and had sent armies against Arikesarin (who may represent the

¹ *Annals*, vol. XI, Part IV (1930).

² *Ind. Ant.*, vol. XXXIV, p. 177 f.

³ सोऽप्यङ्गनानयनपाशनिर्द्धुबुद्धिरुन्मार्गसंगविमुखीकृतसर्वसत्त्वः । शेषप्रकोपविषमप्रकृतिः अथाङ्गः प्रापत्स्यं सहजतेजसि जातजाड्ये ॥

⁴ सामन्तैरथ रदराज्यमीहमालाम्बार्थमभ्यर्थितो, देवेनापि पिनाकिना हरिकुलोद्भासैषिणाप्रेरितः । अध्वास्त प्रथमो विवेकिषु जगन्द्गालजोऽमोघवाक्, पीयूषाब्धिरमोघवर्षनेपतिः श्रीवीरसिंहासनम् ॥

⁵ *Ep. Ind.*, vol. VII, p. 34.

king of Karnaṭa) and Chālukya Bhima II of Veṅgi (the king of Andhra).⁶ These kings at least were displeased with Govinda IV, and we shall not be far wrong if we suppose that other feudatories also did not like his misrule. In the Deoli and Karhad plates of Kṛishna III, the son and successor of Baddiga-Amoghavarsha, we are told that the latter was requested by the feudatories to ascend the throne. These feudatories are not, therefore, likely to have fought for Govinda IV and against the Kalachuri king, who, according to Mr. Sharma, espoused the cause of Baddiga. It is, on the other hand, probable that Baddiga-Amoghavarsha was intriguing with the discontented feudatories of Govinda IV to bring about his downfall. We have a clear reference to this in the passage from the *Vikramārjunavijaya* cited above, which says that Arikesarin gave the throne to Baddiga who sought his help. Yuvarājadeva I was no feudatory of Govinda IV. If he had been mainly instrumental in securing the throne of Kuntala for Baddiga, the Deoli and Karhad plates of his son would have surely referred to his help. We find instead, that Kṛishna III, the son of Baddiga, even while he was a crown prince, defeated a *Sahasrārjuna* (i.e., a Kalachuri king) who was an elderly relative of his mother and wife.⁷ This can be no other than Yuvarājadeva I of Tripuri, the father-in-law of Baddiga. The earliest date for Baddiga is 937 A.D., and the date of Kṛishna III's accession is 940 A.D. Kṛishna's victory over Yuvarājadeva must, therefore, be placed between these two dates. As it is mentioned first in the list of the achievements of Kṛishna III while he was a crown prince,⁸ it may have occurred in the first two or three years of his father's reign. It would, indeed, be the height of ingratitude, if Kṛishna waged war so soon on Yuvarājadeva, who, according to Mr. Sharma, placed his father on the throne of Kuntala.

I, therefore, conclude that Yuvarājadeva must have espoused the cause of some other claimant for the throne of Kuntala and fought with Baddiga-Amoghavarsha and his son Kṛishna, who had usurped it with the help of the feudatories. In my article in the *Annals of the Bhandarkar Institute* I have shown in detail that the kings of Karnaṭa, Simhala, Paṇḍya, etc., mentioned in Rajaśekhara's play as the adversaries of Yuvarājadeva, were afterwards the feudatories of Kṛishna III, and may, therefore, have come to his father's help in that battle. Baddiga was, no doubt, Yuvarājadeva's son-in-law,⁹ but he was a man of saintly disposition, being guided entirely by his son Kṛishna III. From the manner in which Kṛishna III and his successor Khotṭigadeva are referred to in the Kardā plates,¹⁰ the late Sir Ramkrishna Bhandarkar rightly conjectured that they were half-brothers and that Kandakadevi, the daughter of Yuvarājadeva, was the mother of Khotṭigadeva but the step-mother of Kṛishna III. We are told in the *Viddhasālabhaṇḍikā* that Yuvarājadeva married the daughter of Virapāla, whom he placed on the throne of Kuntala. This is manifestly impossible if Virapāla of the play is intended to represent his own son-in-law Baddiga-Amoghavarsha. All these considerations render it extremely probable that Virapāla was meant to represent some other uncle of Govinda IV who had an equal claim for the throne after the latter's death. Yuvarājadeva must have decided to back him, for he must have known that if his son-in-law Baddiga gained the throne he would be entirely under the control of his son, Kṛishna III, of masterful personality, and thus thwart him in his ambitious schemes to become a Chakravartin.

⁶ Fleet, *Dynasties of the Kanarese Districts*, p. 417.

⁷ रामहतसहस्रभुजो भुजइयाकलितसमदामेण । जननीपत्नीगुरुरपि येन सहस्राहुनो विजितः ॥

Karhad Plates, *Ep. Ind.*, vol. IV, p. 284.

⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 285.

⁹ Matrimonial alliances are not always successful in preventing hostilities between ambitious kings. Several instances of this can be quoted from modern European as well as ancient Indian history.

¹⁰ ऐन्द्रपञ्चजिगीषयेव स्वर्गमधिक्रुदे च उद्येष्टे भ्रातरि श्रीमत्कुण्णराजदेवे, सुवराजदेवदुहितरि कन्दकदेव्यामनो-
पवर्षतृपात् । जात खोद्विगदेवो नृपतिरभूद्भुवनाविख्यातः ॥ १६ ॥

Early History of the Deccan (1926), p. 127.

Mr. Sharma places this battle on the bank of the Tāptī, with which he identifies the Payoshnī mentioned in the play as the scene of the battle. It appears from the Epics and Purāṇas that three rivers—Tāptī, Purnā and Paingangā—bore the name Payoshnī in ancient times.¹¹ The *Viddhaśālabhañjikā* tells us that Yuvarājadeva sent an army under his Commander-in-Chief to place Virapāla on the throne of Kuntala. It must have advanced directly on Mānyakheta (modern Mālkhed, near Bidar in the Nizām's Dominions), the capital of the Rāshtrakūṭas. Its progress was checked by a confederacy of kings, and a fierce battle was fought on the bank of the Payoshnī. This river must, therefore, be identified with the Paingangā which, alone of the three rivers mentioned above, lies on the way from Tripurī (Tēwar near Jabalpur) to Mālkhed. The surrounding country was probably called Muralā in those days. The king of this country was one of the adversaries of Yuvarājadeva. From the *Uttarāmacarita* the Muralā appears to be a tributary of the Godāvarī, and we find that the Yādavas who were ruling in that part were feudatories of the Rāshtrakūṭas. To assure Yuvarājadeva that the people of that country had submitted to him after that fierce battle the Commander-in-Chief remarks in his dispatch that the ladies of Muralā had fixed their eyes on his feet. The identification of the Payoshnī¹² with the Paingangā seems, therefore, to be almost certain.

The victory that Yuvarājadeva won in the battle of the Payoshnī was, however, only temporary. Baddiga soon regained the throne and was firmly established on it in 937 A.D. His son and crown prince, Kṛishna III, soon took revenge by defeating Yuvarājadeva, as stated in the Karhad plates.

Let us next turn to some other statements in Mr. Sharma's article. He identifies in a footnote Yuvarājadeva the patron of Abhinanda with Yuvarājadeva I of Tripurī. Extracts from the initial and concluding portions of the *Rāmacarita* were published in 1922 and 1928 in the *Triennial Catalogues of Manuscripts collected by the Madras Government*.¹³ The work has recently been edited in the Gaikwād's Oriental Series. From several references in that poem it is now quite clear that Yuvarājadeva, the poet's patron, was a Pāla king and bore the title *Hāravarsha*. He must, therefore, be distinguished from Rājasekhara's patron, the Kalachuri king Yuvarājadeva I alias *Keyūrararsha*. The editor of the *Rāmacarita* has adduced cogent reasons to identify him with Devapāla, who ruled in the second half of the ninth century A.D.

Relying on Mr. C. V. Vaidya's statement in his *History of Mediæval Hindu India*, Mr. Sharma holds that Kokkalla I was the master of Trikalīṅga in 870 A.D. Mr. Vaidya has cited no authority for his statement. From the eleventh century onwards we find that the title was assumed by some Kalachuri kings. But so far as I know, the passages in the *Viddhaśālabhañjikā* cited by Mr. Sharma are the earliest references to the assumption of this title by a Kalachuri king. If Trikalīṅga means high or elevated Kālīṅga and denotes the highlands between the coast strip called Kālīṅga and Dakṣhiṇa Kosala,¹⁴ the country was conquered for the first time by Kokkalla's son, Mugdhatunga-Prasiddhadhavalā, the father of Yuvarājadeva I.¹⁵ After this conquest he placed one of his brothers in charge of it. The inscriptions of the Kalachuris of Ratanpur mention that Kokkalla had eighteen sons, of whom the eldest became the lord of Tripurī while the others became the lords of Maṇḍalas.¹⁶

¹¹ See Nundo Lal Dey's *Geographical Dictionary of Ancient and Mediæval India*, p. 156.

¹² Relying on Mr. S. N. Majumdar's statement in his edition of Cunningham's *Geography of Ancient India*, Mr. Sharma takes the Muralā country to represent the central possession of the Kalachuris. But this is inconsistent with the express statement in the play that the lord of Muralā was one of Yuvarājadeva's opponents in the battle of the Payoshnī. The *Trikaṇḍaśeṣa* seems to distinguish the Muralā from the Revā or Narmadā, cf. रेवा तु पूर्वगंगा स्यान्मुरला तु मरुन्दला | In the *Bālabhārata* also Rājasekhara distinguishes between Muralā and Mekala the country round the source of the Narmadā, cf. नमितमुरलमौलिः पाकलो मेकलानाम् | (Act I, v. 7).

¹³ Vol. III, Nos. 3439 and 3760 (pub. 1922) and vol. IV, Nos. 5371 and 5373 (pub. 1928).

¹⁴ *JBOES.*, vol. XIV, Part IV.

¹⁵ See references to the conquest of Pāli in the Bilhari inscription of the Rulers of Chedi (*Ep. Ind.*, vol. I, p. 234 f.) and the Benares copperplate inscription of Karna (*Ep. Ind.*, vol. II, p. 297 f.)

¹⁶ Cf. Ratanpur Inscription of Jājalladeva, *Ep. Ind.*, vol. I, p. 32 f.

MISCELLANEA.

A SINHALESE-PĀṆḌYAN SYNCHRONISM.

In the time of Sena I, according to the *Cūlavamsā* (*Mhv.* 50, 12-42), a Pāṇḍyan king invaded Ceylon, ravaged the Northern Province, and sacked the capital. Sena made terms, and the Pāṇḍyans quitted the island.

In the next reign, that of Sena II (*Mhv.* 51, 27-51), a disgruntled son of the Pāṇḍyan king appealed to the Sinhalese monarch for help against his father. A Sinhalese invasion of the Madurā kingdom followed, the capital was sacked, the Pāṇḍyan king died of his wounds and his son was enthroned by the Sinhalese Commander-in-Chief in his stead.

On the Pāṇḍyan side the only reference to a war with Ceylon is the bare mention in the larger Śīnmananūr plates of a victory won over the king of Sīmhala by Śrī-Māra, son of Varaguṇa I, and father of Varaguṇa II (*S. I. I.*, 3, pp. 457, 461). Of a counter-invasion nothing is said.

The year of Varaguṇa II's accession is generally accepted as c. 862 A.D. (Aivarmalai inscription, Md. 242 of V. Rangacharya's list, corroborated by the Tiruvellarai inscription, Tp. 683, see *E. I.*, 11, 253).

This date does not fit either the traditional dating of the *Mhv.* (Wijesinha) which gives Sena I, 846-866 A.D. and Sena II, 866-901 A.D.; nor with the scheme suggested by Hultzsch in *JRAS.*,

1913, 517-531, which would give Sena I, c. 823-843 A.D., and Sena II, 843-876 A.D. Mr. K. V. Subrahmanya Aiyar, relying on Wijesinha's dating infers that this sack of Madurā marks the end of Varaguṇa II's reign (*Ancient Deccan*, p. 141), while Prof. K. A. Nilakanta Sastri would discredit the Sinhalese account altogether, regarding it as a mere repetition of the Sinhalese invasions of Madurā in the twelfth century, interpolated in *Mhv.* 51 "to take off the edge from the story of the conquest of Ceylon" in Sena I's reign (*The Pāṇḍyan Kingdom*, p. 71).

More recently Prof. Geiger, in part II of his edition of the *Cūlavamsā* (1930), has again revised the dating of the Sinhalese kings of this period, and assigns to Sena I, c. 831-851 A.D., and to Sena II, c. 851-885 A.D. The expedition of Sena II to Madurā occurred according to the Āṭaviragollāva inscription (*E. Z.*, 2, p. 44) in the ninth year of his reign, which would be c. 860 A.D. according to Prof. Geiger's scheme. The nearness of this computed date to that of Varaguṇa II's accession (862 A.D., some time between March 22nd and November 22nd, as calculated by Sewell) suggests that Varaguṇa II wrested the Pāṇḍyan throne from his father Śrī-Māra with the help of Sena II. This synchronism, if valid, is important, and proves the soundness of Prof. Geiger's judgment.

F. J. RICHARDS.

BOOK-NOTICES.

A COMPARATIVE AND ETYMOLOGICAL DICTIONARY OF THE NEPALI LANGUAGE, by R. L. TURNER, M.C., M.A. With Indexes of all Words quoted from other Indo-Aryan Languages compiled by Dorothy R. Turner, M.A. 12½×9½ inches; pp. xxiv+935. London, Kegan Paul, Trench Trübner & Co., 1931.

This admirable dictionary is the outcome of 16 years' work; and the labour involved in its preparation will be apparent from its contents to all linguists. Suffice it to state that dictionaries and vocabularies of fifty languages and dialects, including, be it noted, the Gypsy languages, have been systematically examined for the purpose of the etymological notes and the indexes. In the preface the author states his aim as having been to give all those interested in the Aryan languages of India generally, and in Nepālī in particular, a dictionary in which for the first time the attempt is made to indicate with some degree of scientific accuracy the etymologies of an Indo-Aryan language as a whole. The indexes have been planned to enable those concerned with Indo-Aryan languages other than Nepālī to use the etymological material here collected. Right well have these aims been accomplished: the result is a work that should serve as a guide for future Indian lexicography.

In his *Linguistic Survey of India* Sir George Grierson classifies this language, which he calls Eastern Pahārī or Naipālī (here using the Sanskrit form, while Prof. Turner adopts the form Nepālī as locally pronounced) as one of the Pahārī languages of the Inner Sub-Branch of the Indo-Aryan Branch. Prof. Turner tells us that Nepālī originally belonged to a dialect-group which included the ancestors of Gujarātī, Sindhī, Lahndā, Panjābī and Hindī. As the speakers of the so-called Pahārī languages, moving along the foot-hills of the Himālaya, settled down in their new homes, these languages lost touch with their relatives in the north-west, and developed independently. Being brought into close contact with the dialects of the plains to the south, they shared with them important sound changes. So, in the case of Nepālī we find the Hindī and Bihārī dialects exercising a strong and apparently increasing influence. Among the modern Indo-Aryan languages Nepālī is most closely allied to Kumāonī, its neighbour on the west. This linguistic evidence corroborates the historical information we possess as to the introduction in comparatively recent times of this form of Indo-Aryan speech into Nepāl. For it must be remembered that most of the languages spoken in

Nepāl, such as Newārī, Murmi, Gurung, Róng (Lepcha), Māgarī and Sunwār, belong to the Tibeto-Burman Sub-Family. Nepālī, also known by the names Gorkhālī, Parbatīyā and Khas-kurā, was introduced under the dominion of the Rājapūts who migrated, under pressure of the Muhammadan kings of Delhi, into Garhwāl, Kumāon and western Nepāl, and gradually extending their influence in the hill country, occupied the town of Gorkhā in 1559 A.D. It was a ruler of this 'House of Gorkha,' as Buchanan Hamilton described the dynasty, who in 1769 finally brought the whole of Nepāl under his sway and founded the existing kingdom. Whether other Indo-Aryan dialects had previously been spoken in Nepāl is not definitely known, but it is likely that this had been the case. "If there were such an Indo-Aryan language," Prof. Turner writes, "it was probably closely akin to the ancestor of Bhojpuri and Maithilī."

Some of the special features of this dictionary may be briefly noticed. The etymological notes, which have been printed within square brackets under the words concerned, are concisely recorded, but disclose much research and are, we think, of outstanding philological value. We would like to see scholarship of this character directed to the etymological side in Hindi dictionaries. It will be noticed that care has been taken to distinguish words borrowed from Sanskrit (i.e., loan words) from words inherited or descended from that language. The indexes, so accurately and fully prepared by Mrs. Turner, which contain some 48,000 words arranged alphabetically under each language side by side with the Nepālī connected words, will be most useful for purposes of reference to students of other Indo-Aryan languages. Besides Indo-Aryan, a few words of Dravidian, Muṇḍā, Tibeto-Burman and other languages have been included. We should perhaps have expected more evidence of Tibeto-Burman and Muṇḍā influences in the vocabulary; and it is possible that extended research in the direction of these languages will reveal further such traces. In the matter of orthography certain innovations will be observed. These are fully explained in the Introduction. For instance, Turnbull's practice in the use of the *virāma* has been adopted, and *tatsumas* have been written as actually pronounced, except in the case of words still confined to purely learned circles. Prof. Turner expressly explains that he has invented no new spelling, but adopted the system which most nearly represents in writing the actual pronunciation of the spoken word. This is a thoroughly sound principle, and having regard to the etymological notes and the index

of Sanskrit words added, the most fastidious critics should be satisfied.

In a work of this size and comprehensive character it is inevitable that some errors should creep in; that they are so rare is testimony of the care and accurate methods of the compiler. The few we have noticed are chiefly in respect of words of Arabic or Persian origin. Had any reliable dictionaries of the Bihārī vernaculars been published, Prof. Turner would have received much help therefrom. We notice, however, that he has carefully searched, and made good use of that invaluable storehouse of rural terms, *Bihar Peasant Life*, compiled by Sir George Grierson.

Professor Turner is to be warmly congratulated on the publication of this fine piece of work, which we hope is the auspicious harbinger of a greater work for which material is accumulating.

C. E. A. W. O.

A CALENDAR OF THE COURT MINUTES OF THE EAST INDIA COMPANY, 1671-1673. By Ethel Bruce Sainsbury, with an Introduction by W. T. Otte-will, M.B.E. 8½ × 6 in.; pp. xxvii+356. Oxford, Clarendon Press, 1932.

This volume forms the ninth of the series of Calendars compiled by Miss Sainsbury; and the work is of the same high standard as characterised the previous volumes. The introduction, the first to be written by Mr. Ottewill, Sir William Foster's successor at the India Office, contains a carefully prepared analysis of the contents, which is of great help to the reader. The three-year period was comparatively uneventful in India itself, but was marked by better trading results and the resumption (after five years) of payment of dividends by the Company, in spite of the renewal of war with the Dutch, which necessitated the adoption of special measures, such as the supply of convoys, for the protection of the Company's fleets. The most sensational events perhaps were the capture by four Dutch men-of-war, on the 1st Jan. 1673, of the island of St. Helena, which had been in possession of the Company since 1651, and its recapture along with three Dutch E. I. ships by Captain (afterwards Sir) Richard Munden four months later. The island was restored to the Company, who continued to hold it until the Crown assumed possession in 1834.

The full index has been prepared with Miss Sainsbury's customary care.

C. E. A. W. O.

THE RELIGION OF TIBET, by SIR CHARLES BELL, K.C.I.E., C.M.G. 9×6 in.; pp. xvi+235; 69 illustrations and 3 maps. Oxford, Clarendon Press, 1931.

This is the third of a triad of works on Tibet written by the author since his retirement from service under the Government of India, the previous two volumes being *Tibet: Past and Present*, and *The People of Tibet*. The exceptional, in some respects unique, opportunities afforded by 19 years' official employment on its frontiers and in Tibet itself, and more particularly his personal friendship with the two highest dignitaries in that country, the Dalai Lama and the Ta-shi Lama, eminently qualify Sir Charles to describe the land, its people and their religion. In the present volume we have an attractive survey, arranged on historical lines and intended for the general reader, of the more important phases of the religious life of the people.

After a brief description of the old religion of the people, known to themselves as Pön, a sort of Shamanism, which, in one form or another, was once so widely prevalent over the northern parts of the Eastern Hemisphere and extended even into the north of America, we are given a short survey of the rise of Buddhism in India and its gradual introduction into Tibet during the seventh to ninth centuries A.D., the real foundation there being laid by Padma Sambhava in the eighth century. Then we are told how the new religion met with powerful opposition from followers of the old faith and was suppressed for at least 70 years, reviving later and spreading, as a result chiefly of the influence of the teaching of learned Buddhist missionaries from India, like Atisha, under whom and under Mar-pa and others it took a strong Tantrik turn. As Sir Charles writes, Tantrism was more congenial to the Tibetan nomad, "travelling in wild wastes and facing the unknown forces of Nature on a stupendous scale" than the "agnostic disillusionment or the intricate metaphysics of the earlier Buddhist schools." Pönism, moreover, was still a real force in the land—the "Tibetan religion," as it is called in the *Tep-ter Ngön-po*. Buddhism, in fact, was developed in Tibet upon lines that best suited the people. The author aptly adds: "Their (the Tibetans') capacity for building is shown in the massive monasteries that harmonize so admirably with the great mountains round them, their capacity for organization is shown by the completeness of their hierarchy and their monastic discipline. This complex system, however, has perforce to defer to the needs of the ordinary Tibetan, and meet him in respect of spirits, good and bad, and supply, or allow others to supply, the charms and spells that control these heirs of the older Faith."

Chapters follow on the great poet-saint Mila Re-pa, on the Yellow Hat sect founded by

Tsong-ka-pa, and on the capture in the sixteenth century of Mongolia, then dominated by Altan Khagan, by Buddhism, which had originally been carried to that country as early as the thirteenth century by Sa-kya hierarchs. We are told how the Yellow Hat sect suffered a set-back in the first half of the seventeenth century, when the Kar-ma-pa ruler of Tsang gained ascendancy, till the Oëlöt Mongol chief Gusri invaded and conquered the country, at the invitation of the young (5th) Dalai Lama, to whom the temporal, as well as spiritual, rule was then handed over. After some chapters treating chiefly of historical matter, in Part II (chaps. XIII-XV) the author describes the power of the monasteries, how the priests function as civil and military officials, and how the supreme government is conducted under a priest-king. Lastly, we have a valuable note on the sources from which the information given has been compiled. Sir C. Bell has had the advantage of being presented by the Dalai and Ta-shi Lamas themselves of authentic copies of some of the oldest and most important records, including the *Chö-jung* of Pü-ton and the *Tep-ter Ngön-po* of the "Translator Gö."

The reader will not fail to perceive the warm sympathy of a cultured mind with the people, and the personal interest in their lives and beliefs that pervade this book, which is beautifully illustrated from photographs taken by the author himself.

C. E. A. W. O.

ANTHROPOLOGICAL BULLETINS FROM THE ZOOLOGICAL SURVEY OF INDIA. Bulletin No. I. A Report on the Human Relics recovered by the Naga Hills (Burma) Expedition. By B. S. Guha and P. C. Basu. Pp. 68, Plates I—XXII. Calcutta, July 1931.

From an intensive examination of 219 human bones collected from the houses of some fourscore villages in the extreme north of Burma the authors of this well-illustrated monograph infer the existence, side by side with the Mongolian types which dominate this area, of an Australoid strain with characters resembling those of the Kadars of S. India, the Papuans of Melanesia, and the Tasmanians. Comment on these far-reaching deductions would, in the present dearth of published evidence bearing on the subject, be premature, but a series of Bulletins of this quality should go a long way towards clarifying some of the perplexities of Indian race origins.

F. J. R.

JALOR INSCRIPTION OF THE TIME OF PARAMĀRA VĪSALA, DATED V.S. 1174.

By SAHITYACHARYA PANDIT BISHESHWAR NATH REU.

THIS inscription was fixed in the inner side of the northern wall of the building called "Tōpkhānā" at Jalor (Mārwar). It was first noticed by Professor D. R. Bhandarkar in *PRASI. W. C.*, 1908-9, p. 54, and summarised by him in No. 194 of his *List of Inscr. N. I.* During my recent visit to the place I found it fixed in the wall upside down and brought it to the Sardar Museum, Jodhpur, for preservation.

The inscription is engraved on a bulky white stone slab, which measures 2' 3½" × 1' 10". But on reading the contents it was found that when this stone was removed from its original place to be fixed in the Tōpkhānā (sometimes used as a mosque) it was damaged a bit on one side. This is inferred from the fact that the last two letters of the 4th and the 5th lines are missing.

The inscription contains 13 lines. The language is Sanskrit, and the characters belong to the northern type of the twelfth century of the Vikrama era. As regards orthography, the consonant following *r* is doubled, except in one case.

The date given in this inscription is Sāmvat 1174 Āṣāḍha Sudi 5 Bhaumê, corresponding to Tuesday the 25th June 1118 A.D. The Sāmvat given in it is Shrāvaṇādi and not Chaitrādi.

The importance of this inscription lies in the fact that this is the only inscription hitherto found which gives the genealogy of the branch of the Paramāras who ruled over Jalor. Vākpatirāja, the first Paramāra ruler mentioned in this inscription, is quite different from Vākpatirāja, the Paramāra ruler of Mālwa: for the latter had no male issue and therefore adopted his nephew Bhojā, while the one mentioned in this inscription had a son named Chandana.

As the inscription is dated V.S. 1174, the time of this Vākpatirāja would be about V.S. 1150. It is therefore probable that the founder of the Paramāra branch of Jalor might have had some connection with Dharaṇī Varāha, the Paramāra ruler of Ābu.

Text.

1. कै जेतुं विश्वामित्रं वशिष्ठमुनिनातिकोपपूर्णं
2. परमारणाय जनित [ः] कुंडे तेनैव परमार [ः]
3. चासीद्वाक्पतिराजनामृपतिः श्रीपारमारा [न्वये]
4. तत्पुत्रोजनि चन्दना (नो) वनिपतिः तन्नदो देव [राट्]
5. तत्पुत्रस्त्वपराजित [ः] समभवत्प्रादप्रताप [ः स्वयं]
6. पुत्रोभूदपराजितस्य विजयी श्रीविज्जलीभूतिः
7. सेनानीरिवशोः प्रयुम्न इवाशवा हरे [त्रैने?]
8. दक्षे (क्षो) वाम्बुजसुतेधोरावर्षो नराधिपतिः ॥
9. धारावर्षस्य पुत्रोय जातो वीसलभूतिः
10. येन भूमंडलीकानां धर्ममार्गोत्र दक्षितः ॥
11. राज्ञी मेनरदेव्या (वी) तु पत्नी वीसलभूतिः ॥
12. सौवर्ण्यं कलसं मूर्च्छं सिंधुराजेश्वरेत्र (क) तं ॥
13. [सं] वत् ११७४ चाषाढ सुदि ५ भौमे ॥

Translation.

LS. 1-2. The enraged Vasiṣṭha created the Paramāra from (his) fire altar to conquer Viśvāmitra and to kill his enemies.

LS. 3-6. There was a king named Vākpatirāja in the dynasty of Paramāra. His son was Chandana, who got a son named Dēvarāja. Dēvarāja had a son named Aparājita, whose son was Vijjala.

LS. 7-8. His son, like Kārtikēya to Śiva, Pradyumna to Kṛṣṇa and Dakṣa Prajāpati to Brahmā was Dhārāvarṣa.

LS. 9-10. Dhārāvarṣa's son was Visala, who enlightened all the petty chiefs with religious knowledge.

LS. 11-12. Mēlaradēvi, the queen of this king Visala, got this golden *kalāṣa* put here on the steeple of the temple of Sindhu Rājēśvara.¹

L. 13. Sāmvat 1174 Āṣāḍha Sudi 5 Tuesday.

¹ This temple was probably built by Sindhurāja, the founder of the Paramāra dynasty of Ābu, as is evident from the inscription dated 1218 v.s. found at Kirādu :—

‘सिंधुराजो महाराजः समभून्महामण्डले’

This temple is not in existence now.

KIRĀDU INSCRIPTION OF THE TIME OF CHĀLUKYA BHĪMADĒVA II AND
HIS FEUDATORY CHAUHĀNA MADANABRAHMADEVA, DATED V.S. 1235.

By SAHITYACHARYA PANDIT BISHESHWAR NATH REU.

THIS inscription is engraved on a pillar at the entrance of a Śiva temple at Kirādu, a ruined village near Hātmā about 16 miles north-west of Bādmēr in Mallāni district (Mārwar). It was first noticed by Prof. D. R. Bhandarkar in *PRASI. W. C.*, 1906-07, page 42, and is summarised in No. 381 of his *List of Inscriptions of Northern India*.

It contains 16 lines and covers a space of $17\frac{1}{2}'' \times 9\frac{1}{2}''$. The language is Sanskrit. Except three couplets, one in the beginning and two at the end, the whole is in prose. The middle portion, from the 5th to the 14th line, as also the 16th line, has peeled off. As regards orthography it is to be noted that at some places the consonant following *r* is doubled, at one place *s* is used for *ś* and at others *ś* for *s*.

The record, after paying reverence to Śiva in prose and poetry, gives the date as V.S. 1235, Kārttika Śudi 13 Gurau (=Thursday the 26th October 1178 A.D.) when in the reign of Bhīmadēva (II) (V.S. 1235-1298) his feudatory Śākambari (Chauhāna) Mahārājaputra Madanabrahmadēva was ruling at Kirātakūpa (Kirādu), and Tējapāla was carrying on the administration. It also tells us that the latter's (Tējapāla's) wife, seeing the old image of the temple broken by Turuskas, installed a new image on the aforesaid date; and, making a request to the ruler (Madanabrahmadēva), provided two gifts for the gods.

Text.

१. ऊँ ऊँनमः शिवायः (य) सधूर्तं [जयत्यब्ध] जयिनी (?) विजया इव^१ यस्यैकपलितभ्रांतिक—
२. रोत्ययापि या (जा) हवी । संवत् १२३५ कार्तिक [शुदि] १३ गुरावयेह
श्रीमदणहिलपाटकाधिष्ठित महाराजाधिराज
३. परमेश्वर परमभद्रारक रिपुवंशाप्ररोह [रामावतार ?] श्रीमद्रामदेवकल्याणविजयराज्ये तत्प्रभुप्रसादावाप्त श्री
४. किराटकूपे राविरिवसप्रतापः हिम [कर [रुचिर] कराभिरामः मेरुरिव] सुवर्णधियामनोरमो चनेक समरसंघ—
५. द्यौरिक्किरिषटापीठारुणकरवाल [शा] कंभरीभूपा [ल] — — — — [महा] राजपुत्रश्रीमदन-
ब्रह्मदेवराज्ये तस्य स —
६. दाज्ञामिवायी लब्धमहापञ्चशब्दादिसर्वान्कारो — — — — [सर्वा] धिकार सकलव्या-
पारचितान्तर स (श) कट
७. धुराचौरियकलमहं० श्रीतेजपास [देव] सुपलीव [मानस ?] — — — — [यी] राजहंसीमिव
ललितपद्मार्गी सुरसुंद —
८. रीमिवसत (सतत) मनिमेषावलोक [न] — — — — धन देवा (?)
— — — — जललवतरलतरं जीवितव्यं चाकल्प्य ये —
९. हिकाऽमुष्मिक [फ] लंवांगीकृ [ल] — — — —
— — — — र देवभवा^२ मूर्तिरासीत् सांतुरुकै (कै) भगना
१०. तांच निरीक्ष्य तस्मिन् (न) पि — — — —
— — — — सकलसुरासुरमुकुटमणिकिरि (र) न —
११. संवत्षष्ठितपादपद्मयु [गल] — — — —
— — — — कारयित्वाऽस्मिन् दिने प्रतिष्ठिता ॥
१२. तथा च चतुर्द (श) महानदी — — — —
— — — — [वि] चित्त्य स्व राजानं प्रथा (सा) दं याचयित्वा
१३. श्रीकिराटकूपीय शु — — — —
— — — — दिनं दत्त [मिदं] विंशोपकद्वयं ॥
१४. तथा दीपार्थं च दत्त (तं) तैल — — — —
— — — — न्यैरपिभूपालैश्चाचंद्रार्कै
१५. यावत् पालनीयं ॥ बहुभिर्वसुधा भुक्ता राजभिः सगरादिभिः । [यस्ययस्ययदा] भूमी तस्य तस्य तदाफलं ॥१
१६. स्वदत्तां परदत्तां वा — — — —
— — — — [फ] ल [म्] ॥२ भंगलं महाश्रीः ॥

^१ The original seems to have °जिज्याजुदो जयतां विजयाइ (य) वः [] — D. R. B.

^२ Perhaps °देवनना (belonging to the god) has to be read.

BANGAL AND THE CITY OF BANGALA.

(Contributions to an old controversy.)

BY THE LATE SIR RICHARD C. TEMPLE, Bt.

IN 1921 Professor Suniti Chatterji sent a long note to Sir George Grierson on the old controversy about the "City of Bengal, Bengala, Banghella or Bangala" and on the term "Bengal" or "Bangal" itself, which Sir George passed on to me in reference to Dames's long footnote on the former in his edition of *Barbosa*, vol. II, pp. 135-145. According to the Professor, to a Bengali, "Bangāla" means all Bengal and "Bangāl," Eastern Bengal only. In that sense "Bangāl" was frequently used in medieval Bengali literature, and nowadays it is held to be so much a matter of common knowledge as not to require the support of literary evidence.

The Professor wrote : " At the present day we call our province Bāṅgālā, or Bāñlā, or Bāṅgālā (Bāñlā)-deś, the term embracing all Bengal, North, South, West, East ; but when we say Bāṅgāl (Bāṅgāl)-deś, without the final -ā, we mean Eastern Bengal, not specifically any particular tract, but all the eastern Bengali area where the language is characterised by some special phonetic and morphological characteristics (e.g., *ts*, *s*, *dz* pronunciation of *c*, *ch*, *j* ; retention of the epenthesis, deaspiration of aspirates, e.g., *bhāgya*=West Bengali *bhāggō* but pronounced *bāiggō*, dropping the *h*, change of *ś* to *h*, use of *re* and not *ke* for the dative ; use of *mu*, future, for the 1st person). A Bengali speaker, no matter where he comes from, is a Bāñ(g)ālī, but Bāñ(g)āl is a man from Eastern Bengal. The forms with the wider connotation, Bāṅgālā, Bāṅgālī, are recent, and to all appearance borrowed from the Hindostānī (or Persian) Bāṅgālāh, Bāṅgālī. The other form, without the terminal *ā* or *ī*, is older, being normally developed out of Vaṅgāla, and retains the old connotation of the word. Bāñ(g)āl is a term of contempt, and a Western Bengali speaker habitually employs it in a disparaging sense, although the Eastern man would call himself also a Bāñ(g)ālī. Sometimes an Eastern Bengali person would resent the use of the term Bāṅgāl from the accompanying tone or gesture of contempt, though he does not object to his patois and his part of the province being called Bāṅgāl-bhāṣā [or Bāñ(g)āle, i.e., Bāṅgālīyā kathā] and Bāṅgāl-deś. This contemptuous use of Bāṅgāl(a) we find as early as the twelfth century, at least. Sarvānanda, a Paṇḍit of Western Bengal, in his commentary on the *Amarakōṣa* (dated 1159) gives Old Bengali words in explanation of Sanskrit terms : and he explains the Skr. word *śidhma*, 'dried fish,' by a remark : *Yatra vaṅgāla-vaccārāṇām prītiḥ*—'in which the low Bāṅgāl people find enjoyment.' "

Then by way of explaining the various terms for the Province of Bengal or its parts, viz., Bāṅgāl, Bāṅgālā, Vaṅgā, Vaṅgāla, and also Varendra, Gauḍa, Rāḍha and Samatāṭa, the Professor made the following illuminating remarks : " Bāṅgālā, Bāṅgālī are convenient names for the language and people of the whole tract of Bengal. and Vaṅga-deśa in the sense of the whole of Bengal is but a Sanskrit rendering of Bāṅgālāh in the *sādhu-bhāṣā* ; so also is Vaṅga-bhāṣā of the *zābān-i-Bāṅgālāh*. But that the form Bāṅgāl referring specifically to Eastern Bengal carries on the tradition of an earlier state of things when Vaṅga, Vaṅgāla (Bāṅgāla) meant the land or people of the eastern part of the province, is attested by epigraphic and literary remains. Thus, Bengal consists of four tracts : Varendra or Varendrī or Gauḍa=N. Bengal ; Rāḍhā=W. Bengal ; Vaṅga = E. Bengal, and Samatāṭa=the Delta. Gauḍa, probably as early as the closing centuries of the first millennium A.D., came to mean West Bengal and North Bengal (Varendra and Rāḍhā), and Samatāṭa and Vaṅga were used as synonyms of South-East and East Bengal. Fa Hian knew Samatāṭa-Vaṅga as Harikela, a name which is found in epigraphy, as well as in a medieval Sanskrit work, where it was called 'Harikelās tu Vaṅgiyah.' Epigraphic references can be found in R. D. Banerji's *Pālas of Bengal (Memoirs of the ASB., vol. V, No. 3, cf. pp. 44-45, p. 71, etc.)*. It seems then that in Western India, Vaṅga was loosely applied to all Bengal during the closing centuries of the first millennium A.D.—an application of the term, which, to some extent, was accepted in Bengal as well, and helped the adoption in modern times of the Western (Hindostānī) term

Bangálah as the national name. In the various biographies of Chaitanya written in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, we are told that he travelled to Vaṅga or East Bengal, where he used to make fun of the people by imitating their pronunciation, a thing which they resented. The same thing is done now among the people of Western Bengal, who never let an occasion go when they can parody the Bāṅgāl pronunciation. Western Bengal, with Nadiyā as its centre, was known as Gauḍa: Gauḍa and Vaṅga are also used in the early (pre-Muslim) inscriptions to denote West and East Bengal. When Rāmmohan Rāy wrote his *Bengali Grammar*, about 1830, he called it *Gauḍīya bhāṣār Vyākaraṇ*. M. Madhu-Sūdan Datta in his epic *Meghanādavadha Kāvya* (in the seventies of the last century) refers to the Bengali-speaking people as Gauḍajana. The old tradition is carried on in two recent publications of the Varendra Research Society of Rājshāhi—*Gauḍa-lekha-mālā* and *Gauḍa-rājamālā*. It is through foreign influence and example, namely of the Persian-employing Muslims, of the people of Upper India and the Portuguese and the English, that Bangálah—Bengal was given to the whole province as its proper name."

He then passed to a very brief consideration of the term 'City of Bengala' in its various forms, originating in the works of Portuguese writers: "I read a few years ago a monograph by Babu Birendranāth Basu Thākur in Bengali seeking to locate 'the City of Bengal' in the Dacca District. In this book he quoted amply from Portuguese and other travellers in English—evidently taking much pains over his work. The view he put forward was that the 'City of Bengal' of the early European travellers is Sunārgāon in the Dacca District, i.e., in Eastern Bengal. Babu Amulya Charan Vidyābhūṣaṇa, Professor of Pali in Calcutta and a well-known writer on Bengali history and antiquities of Bengal, at one time studied the question of the 'City of Bengal,' or as he calls it of 'Bengalla,' and agrees with the above view. Indeed, I found that many of his arguments had been incorporated in Birendranāth Basu Thākur's monograph."

Dames, in his very fine edition of *Barbosa* and in the very careful note he made on the 'City of Bengala,' however, took another view of the question, as noted in 1923 in my long review of his book (*ante*, vol. LII, "Some discursive comments on Barbosa"): "I propose now to confine myself to the remark that he rejects Chittagong, Sunārgāon and Satgāon, and finally fixes on 'Gaur taken together with its subsidiary ports' as the place known as Baṅgāla in the early part of the sixteenth century."

Personally, I feel sure that Dames was wrong in this *identification*, and Heawood, writing in the *Geographical Journal* in 1921, was of the same opinion: "One of the puzzles that will probably be never definitely solved is that of the identity of the city spoken of by early travellers under the name Bengala (or Banghella) as the chief commercial emporium of the kingdom of the same name. It has been discussed (among others) by Mr. G. P. Badger in his edition of *Varthema's Travels*, and by Sir Henry Yule both in *Cathay* and in *Hobson-Jobson*. The latter gave the weight of his great authority in favour of the identification with Chittagong, holding that it was a case of transferring the name of a country to one of its principal cities or ports, a habit which he attributed to the Arabs generally. The latest [in 1921] and most thorough discussion of the problem is that of Mr. Longworth Dames in the second volume of his admirable edition of *Barbosa* (the first writer after Varthema to mention the city as 'Bengala'), lately published by the Hakluyt Society. Mr. Dames devotes to the subject a note extending to nine pages of small type, in which, after summarizing all the evidence extant and the views of previous commentators, he gives it as his opinion that by 'Bengala' the old capital Gaur, taken together with its subsidiary port or ports (Satgaon or Sunargaon or both), is intended. A striking piece of evidence in favour of this is the mention of 'Gaur-Bengāla,' apparently as one city, in an inscription at Kandahar dating from 1594. Mr. Dames contests Yule's view that the Arabs were accustomed to use the name of a country for its principal town, though they occasionally, he says, followed the reverse custom. Yet he allows that the city of Gaur took its name from the country, and

that the name Bangāla 'seems in its turn to have passed in common usage from the country to the capital,' so that the objection to Yule's view seems limited to his ascription of the practice to the Arabs. As against Chittagong Mr. Dames holds also that it was only temporarily and imperfectly subjected to Bengal, and was thus hardly likely to be taken for the latter's principal port in Barbosa's time. Its later use by the Portuguese, under the name Porto Grande, as their chief port of entry, was, he thinks, principally because there was no strong government there to fight against. These considerations are certainly weighty, yet some may think that there is more to be said for Yule's view than Mr. Dames would allow. Thus the Cantino map of 1502 already shows Chittagong prominently as one of the two great ports of this part of India (the other being Satgaon), and the position given to it at the point where the Bay of Bengal runs up into a funnel-shaped opening in the land fits in well with Barbosa's account. It does not seem impossible that Barbosa's description may actually have been influenced by a knowledge of charts like Cantino's, for there are many indications that the notions of early writers were largely tinged by their knowledge of current maps, as well as *vice versa*.

"Again the Turkish sea-book, the *Mohit*, edited by Bittner and Tomaschek in 1897 (*Journal*, vol. II, p. 76) which though considerably later in date (1554) than Barbosa, has been shown by Tomaschek to have been based on earlier sources, describes precisely the same state of things, Chittagong being spoken of moreover (to use Bittner's translation) as 'der Hafen Sati-gām, d.i. das östliche Bangāla,' while the boundary of Bengal (with Rakkang, i.e., Arracan) is drawn a good way down the east coast of the gulf. That little weight can be attached to later cartographic representations, in which Bengāla and Chittagong appear as distinct places, is evident if we consider Gastaldi's map of 1561, where the city of Gaur appears in four different forms (five, if Bengala stands for the same city), viz., Gaur, Scierno, Cernoven (the two last representing its name *Shahr-i-nau* or 'New City,' as noted by Yule), and Cor on one of the effluents of the mythical lake Chiamay, supposed by Mendez Pinto to be the Ganges. Nor can great importance be allowed to geographical compilations such as Heylin's *Cosmography* in which (ed. of 1652) Bengala is mentioned as a great city in addition to Gaur, Catigan, and Porto Grande, the writer being also ignorant of the identity of the two last named. Heylin would have it that the country took its name from the city."

In my own edition of *Varthema* (1928), p. lxvi, I wrote as follows: From Tenasserim Varthema goes to Bengal, reaching his destination about the middle of March. He says frankly that this journey was undertaken out of curiosity. . . . Then he tells us that "having sold some of our merchandize we took the route towards the city of 'Banghella' as merchants. This term—the city of Banghella—has long been, and still is, a source of trouble to scholars: where was it? This question greatly exercised Badger in 1863, it sorely troubled Dames when editing the contemporary *Book of Duarte Barbosa* in 1921, and it has been the cause of many researches by Indian scholars in Bengal itself. Varthema, however, evidently repeats his former practice and calls the town he visited after the province in which it was situated—Bengal. The actual site is hardly yet settled, but it may be taken, for the purpose of defining Varthema's journey, to be Satgaon on an old bed of the Hugli River. On this assumption he is right in saying that "the sultan of this place is a Moor," and that the people "are all Mahommedans," as Bengal at that time was under the Husain Shahi Dynasty.

I suggest then that the true solution of the difficulties to be confronted in identifying the 'City of Bengāla' is that the old travellers did not all mean the same place by that term. Some of them found their way to Bengal and reached an emporium for foreign goods, such as Chittagong, Sunârgâon or Satgâon, places not necessarily near each other, and called that the 'City of Bangāla,' which every traveller knew by reputation. I feel sure from the general trend of his travels and from his account thereof that Varthema's 'City of Bengala' was where I have placed it, whatever place other writers and travellers may have meant by that term.

DRAVIDIC PROBLEMS.

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I. Tuḷu H.

[A] GENERAL.

THE glottal fricative *h*, it is well to remember, does exist as a *secondary* development in many of the Dravidian dialects.

Tamil shows it dialectally in the development of the inter-vocal velar plosive *-k-* (*-g-*) which, while it changes in common parlance to the half-voiced variety of the velar fricative [x], becomes a semi-voiced glottal fricative in certain communal dialects. As the oral fricative generally involves some separation of the vocal chords, the tendency (wherever this is present) to give this fricative a distinct individuality leads to the issue of a strong breath-current from the glottal region itself and to the consequent production of the aspirate *h*.

The minute sound known as *āydam* [*ஆய்தம்*] in Tamil, appearing in a few ancient words after short initial syllables and before the voiceless plosives *-k-*, *-t-*, *-p-*, and before *-c* and *ṛ* (which latter are also classed by ancient Tamil grammarians in the plosive series), presumably also involved an aspirate element from an early stage.

Modern Kannaḍa shows an initial glottal fricative *h-*, developed from an older *p-*; folk- Kannaḍa also shows more rarely a prothetic *h-*.

The central Dravidian dialect Kūi shows the glottal fricative in a number of contexts:—(a) Intervocally, as the development of an original velar surd *-k-*, through the stage of the velar fricative [x]; (b) at the terminal positions of very old bases, where the aspirate appears to have cropped up in connection with the formative affix *-k*; (c) initially as a sub-dialectal development of other sounds.

Gōṇḍi, the other central Dravidian dialect, also shows the aspirate:—(a) in connection with the formative ending *-k* of certain verbs; (b) in connection with the plural ending *-k* of nouns having final long dorsal vowels; (c) in connection with the same plural ending *-k* of nouns with final *-l*, *-n* or *-r* preceded by long vowels; (d) in connection with the causative affix *-t*; (e) and prothetically in a few cases.

Kurukh possesses the glottal fricative (a) in aspirated plosives; (b) as the development of a velar fricative *x* transcribed in grammars as *ḥ* which sound (judged by the description given by Father Grignard) would appear to be so nearly related in origin to the glottal fricative as to involve in its production a certain amount of aspiration; (c) as the development of an original Dravidian initial *k-* of native words; and (d) dialectally as a prothetic sound.

Brāhūi possesses *h-* (a) prothetically (cf. Sir Denys Bray's *Grammar of Brāhūi*, page 32); (b) in the peculiar aspirated sound transcribed as *lh* by Sir Denys Bray; (c) as the development, in certain cases, of older sounds.

In a paper contributed by me to the columns of this journal some time back, I gave a summary sketch of these points and a few instances to illustrate them. It would be necessary for us to pursue the study of the occurrence and origin of *h* in each of the dialects separately, so that we may have an idea of the factors that have contributed in each case to the production of this secondarily developed glottal fricative.

In this paper I propose to study some of the features characterising the production of *h* in Tuḷu. The contexts in which the glottal fricative *h* occurs in this dialect are the following:—(a) as the representative of *p-* in initial positions of certain "learned" loan-words and of sub-dialectal borrowings from Kann.; (b) as the development of an older *t-* initially; (c) as a prothetic sound.

h- occurs chiefly in Tuḷu only in initial positions of native words ; inter-vocally native words [except a few borrowings from the contiguous dialect Kannāḍa, like *arihu* (knowledge)] do not have the aspirate at all.

[B] Tuḷu *h*- CORRESPONDING TO *p*-.

[Note.—(a) These *h*- words in Tuḷu are all borrowed from Kann., being either rare sub-dialectal forms or “learned” words.

(b) Many of these *h*- words have genuine Tuḷu *p*- counterparts which are far more generally and commonly used. A few like *halavu*, *hāku*, *hāvu*, *hālu*, etc., are “learned” borrowings from Kann. They have no counterparts in Tuḷu with *p*-.]

hagalu, *pagalu* (daytime) —cf. Tam. *pagal*, old Kannāḍa *pagal*, modern Kannāḍa *hagalu*.

hani, *pani* (slight rain) —cf. Tamil *pani* (cold), old Kannāḍa *pani*, mod. Kann. *hani*,

Kūi *pini* (cold).

hari, *pari* (to run, to flow) —cf. mod. Kannāḍa *hari* (to flow), Tamil *para-kk*- (to spread).

halā-vu (many) —cf. mod. Kannāḍa *hala*, south Dr. *pala*.

ha'abe, *parabæ* (old man) —cf. mod. Kann. *ha'e* (old), Tam. *paḷ-aya* (old, ancient).

hāku (to flog, to lash) —cf. mod. Kann. *hāk*- (to throw ; colloquial also ‘flog’ or ‘beat’) and Tamil *pāy-kk*- (to cast).

hāvu (snake) —cf. mod. Kann. *hāvu*, Tamil *pāmbu*, Tel. *pāmu*.

hāsige (mat) —cf. mod. Kannāḍa *hāsige* (mat), Tamil *pāy* (mat) connected with the base *pāy* (to spread).

hā'u (ruin) —cf. mod. Kannāḍa *hālu* and Tam. *pāl* (waste).

hiṅg (to be unsteady) —cf. mod. Kann. *hiṅg*- (to go back) and common Dr. base *pi*- (back) in Tam. *pin*, etc.

hiḍi, *piḍi* (hold, grasp) —cf. mod. Kann. *hiḍi*, Tamil *piḍi*.

huṭṭu, *puṭṭu* (birth) —cf. mod. Kann. *huṭṭu*, old Kann. *puṭṭu*, Tel. *puṭṭu*, Tamil *piṭṭa*, coll. *poṇṇ-kk* (to be born).

hullu, *pullu* (grass) —cf. mod. Kannāḍa *hullu*, Tam. *pullu*.

heṅgasu (woman) —cf. mod. Kann. *heṅgasu* (woman), Tamil *peṇ*, etc.

hemma (abundance) —cf. *hemma* of mod. Kann. Old Kan. *herma*, *perma*, and Tam. *peru-mai*.

In connection with these instances the following facts are significant :—

(i) While the change of *p* > *h*- has affected almost all Kannāḍa words of the modern period (vide Kittel's *Grammar*, § 64), only a fraction of *p*- forms of Tuḷu shows *h*- as rare sub-dialectal instances. A large number of native words with initial *p*- remain unchanged, e.g., *pañji* (pig), *pajæ* (mat), *paṭṭæ* (strip, stripe), *pade*- (to become invisible), *pasæ* (greasiness), *pāḍte* (rock), *pāy*- (to be diffused), *piji*- (to twist), *pugæ* (smoke), *puṭṭu*- (to be born), *puda* (dove), etc., etc.

These *p*- forms do not possess any corresponding *h*- forms in Tuḷu even sub-dialectally. Of course a few of these *p*- forms do have cognates among the *h*- words, but the differences in structure or in meaning or in both are significant :—

Tuḷu.	Tuḷu. [borrowings]	Kannāḍa.
<i>pajæ</i> (mat)	<i>hāsige</i> (mat)	<i>hāsige</i> (mat).
<i>pār</i> - (to fly)	<i>hari</i> (to run)	<i>hari</i> (to run, to flow).
<i>pira</i> (behind)	<i>hiṅg</i> - (to be unsteady)	<i>hiṅg</i> - (to go back).
<i>poṇṇu</i> (girl)	<i>heṅgasu</i> (woman)	<i>heṅgasu</i> (woman).

Let us note that the Tulu forms with initial *h*- show an unmistakable resemblance in structure and meaning to the Kannada forms with *h*-.

(ii) None of the *h*- forms (listed above) show any characteristic Tulu features. The change of non-Tulu -*ɾ*- to Tulu -*d*- or -*j*- is one of the most prominent of the distinctive characteristics of Tulu.¹ This is not evident in any of these *h*- words; on the other hand, the *p*- words of Tulu do retain this feature, e.g., *puda* (dove), *pāḍæ* (rock), *pij*- (to twist), *pañji* (pig), etc. Note also how the characteristic Tulu final *æ* of nouns does not exist in the *h*- forms listed above.

(iii) Many of the *h*- forms (listed above) alternate with corresponding *p*- forms: *pullu*, *hullu* (grass); *palli*, *halli* (lizard); *pū*, *hū* (flower). This alternation seems to have a sub-dialectal basis. On enquiry I find that only the people of the eastern and north-eastern areas of the Tulu-speaking region, which are contiguous to the Kannada country, favour the forms with initial *h*-, while the alternative *p*- words are far more generally and commonly used elsewhere.

All these facts cumulatively show that Tulu *h*- words listed above are borrowings from Kannada, in which language *p* > *h* is a regular feature of the medieval and modern dialects.

The change of *p* > *h* in Kannada has been ascribed by Kittel to the influence of Marāṭhī. The process of change was apparently through the bilabial fricative stage [F] which changed to *h* when the breath-current from the glottis was incorporated.

It may be noted here that a similar change affecting other surds has occurred in other Dravidian dialects also. The production of a glottal fricative from a surd through the initial change of the surd into the corresponding fricative (with or without voicing) and then through the incorporation of a breath-current issuing through the widely separated vocal chords is illustrated by the following:—

(a) Tamil intervocal *h*- < *k*-, as in *pōhu*, *aḥalam*, etc.

k- > [x] > *h*-

(b) Kûi intervocal *h*- < *k*-, as in *vēhu*, etc.

k- > [x] > *h*-

(c) Kûi initial *h*- < *k*- and < *t*- [sub-dialectally].

k- > [c] > [ç] > *h*-

t- > [θ] > *h*-

(d) Kûvi initial *h*- < *p*-, as in *hō* (to go)

p- > [F] > *h*-

(e) Kurukh dialectal *h*- < the back fricative, as in *hoy* (to reap) < *xoy* < *koy*.
x- [derived from velar *k*-] > *h*- dialectally.

(f) Tulu *h*- < *t*- [vide below].

t- > [θ] > *h*-

[C] TULU *t*- > *h*-

This change is native and is a dialectal one. While *t*- words are retained among the non-Brahmin masses of the southern areas, *h*- forms appear in the eastern and the south-eastern taluks. In certain northern areas and among certain communities of the south, *s*- also appears in some cases in the stead of *t*- or *h*-

harp-, *tarp*- (to cut open).

hāg-, *tāg*- (to touch, to come in contact)

hāræ-, *tāræ* (coconut palm)

hikk-, *tikk*- (to be obtained)

hinp-, *tinp*- (to eat)

hīr-, *tīr*- (to be finished)

hūḍar-, *tuḍar* (light, lamp)

—cf. Kannada *tāg*, Tamil *tāng*-.

—cf. Tam. *tāl-ai* (palm), Kûi *tāri* (plantain).

—cf. Tam. *tiṅg*- (to be crowded).

—cf. south Dr. *tin* (to eat).

—cf. south Dr. *tīr*- (to be finished).

—cf. Kann. *cuḍar* (lamp), Tam. *ḥuḍ*-,
Tulu *tū* (fire), etc.

¹ Vide my "Materials for a sketch of Tulu phonology" to be published in the forthcoming Grierson Commemoration Volume.

<i>hūdæ, tudæ</i> (river)	—cf. Tam. <i>tira, tura</i> (to open), Kann. <i>turæ</i> (river).
<i>hū, tū</i> (fire)	—cf. Brāhūi <i>tūbe</i> (moon), Tamil <i>tū</i> (bright), <i>tī</i> (fire).
<i>hū-, tū-</i> (to see)	—cf. Tel. <i>tsūd-</i> , Brāhūi <i>hur-</i> (to see), Gôṇḍi <i>hur</i> (to see).
<i>heli-, teli-</i> (to know)	—cf. Tamil <i>teri-</i> (to know, become clear).
<i>hōj-, tōj</i> (to appear)	—cf. Tamil <i>tōnd'r-</i> (to appear), Kann. <i>tōṛ</i> (to appear), Kūi <i>tōj-</i> (to appear).
<i>hōḍu, tōḍu</i> (channel)	—cf. south Dr. <i>tōḍu</i> (channel).

The following significant features may be singled out in connection with this change :—

- (i) The change is dialectal in Tuḷu; the change is not met with in the neighbouring Kannaḍa at all.
- (ii) The cognates of these forms in the other dialects show either (a) an initial *t-* or (b) initial *c-*, *ś-* or *s-* according to the dialects concerned.

I have shown elsewhere that the initial affricates and fricatives of Dravidian are derivative. *t-* forms in the Tuḷu instances given above have to be considered original.

The phonetic process of the production of *h-* from *t-* is a question bound up with the problem of the conversion of the original *t-* to the affricates and fricatives. In my paper on "Dravidian initial Affricates and Fricatives" I have pointed out that, all circumstances taken together, the aspirate sound of Tuḷu was *not* produced directly from the sibilant *s-* (which process is a common phenomenon in Indo-Āryan), but that we have reasons to think that the process of change might have been the following :—

In a large number of instances with alternating *t-*, *s-* and *h-* in initial positions, there should initially have been a loosening of the stoppage for *t-* resulting in the production of a fricative [ɟ] which in one dialect gave rise to the sibilant *s-* and in another changed to the aspirate by incorporating glottal breath :

$t > [ɟ] > s-$;

$t > [ɟ] > h-$.

This view is strengthened by

(a) the occurrence of the change of *t-* to *h-* dialectally, without its being represented by any *s-* forms, e.g., *tinp-*, *hinp-* (to eat); (Skt. borrowing) *tēja*, *hēja* (lustre); *toḍaṅku*, *hoḍaṅku* (clasp).

(b) The presence of numerous forms with alternating *t-* and *s-* (in different dialects) but without any corresponding *h-* forms, e.g., *tappu*, *sappu* (fault); *tōlpu*, *sōpu* (defeat); *tiga*, *siga* (beehive); *tampu*, *sampu* (cold); Skt. *taḍit* borrowed as *teḍilu*, *sedilu* (thunder).

The intermediate stage represented by the fricative [ɟ] is the direct result of the loosening of the stoppage of the plosive; the sibilant *s*², in the production of which a smaller passage is formed between the tongue and the dental portion than for [ɟ], can normally be only the result of the effort to give a distinct individuality to [ɟ] which is an unstable sound in Dravidian. This effort to stabilise [ɟ] apparently produced *s-* in one sub-dialect and *h-* in another.

[D] PROTHETIC *h-* IN TUḶU.

[In the following illustrations, it will be noticed that the forms with initial vowels are original, in as much as they are directly related to the cognate forms of other dialects, as our instances given below would show.]

² The difference between [ɟ] and *s* (as pointed out by Prof. Jespersen, page 34 of his *Lehrbuch der Phonetik*) is significant. The passage formed in the production of [ɟ] is broader than that for *s*: Das am meisten charakteristische für [ɟ] ist die breite spaltförmige Öffnung im Gegensatz zur Rillenbildung bei *s*.

<i>hamar-</i> , <i>amar-</i> (to sink, settle)	—cf. south Dr. <i>amar-</i> .
<i>hade-</i> , <i>ade-</i> (to shut)	—cf. south Dr. base <i>adai-</i> , <i>ade-</i> (to shut).
<i>hēr-</i> , <i>ēr-</i> (to ascend)	—cf. south Dr. <i>ēr-</i> (to climb, to rise).
<i>hilæ</i> (betel-leaves), <i>ilæ</i> , <i>iræ</i> (leaf)	—cf. <i>ilai</i> of Tamil, etc.

The instances³ are few and they are regarded as “vulgarisms” in Tulu nāḍ itself. The rationale of the incorporation of *h-* in initial positions of these words is not quite clear; it is possible that the analogy of *h-* words (derived from forms with initial *t-* or *p-*) may have played some part in the process.

II. Tamil Āydam.

(ஆய்தம்)

What was the value of this ancient Tamil sound? What may have been its origin? Was it a native growth in Tamil, or was it an invention inspired by Sanskrit? So many conflicting views have been expressed on these points by different scholars, that it might be useful to consider if the data available for us can supply any clue to the solution of these problems.

[A] THE DESCRIPTIONS OF THE SOUND GIVEN BY ANCIENT TAMIL GRAMMARIANS.

The earliest Tamil grammar, Tolkāppiyam, deals with the sound in a number of *sūtras* of *Eluttadigāram*, of which the following may be quoted here:—

Sūtra 38: குறியதன் முன்ன ராய்தப்புள்ளி
யுயிரோடு புணர்ந்த வல்லாநன் மிசைத்தே
kuriyadan munnar āydappuḷḷi
(*yuyiroḍu punarnda vallāran miśaittē*)
[i.e., *āydam* appears after short syllables and before the six surds *k*, *c*, *t*, *ṭ*, *p* and *r*]. Cf. also *Sūtra 91* where the *āydam* is described as a *śārpeḷuttu*.

Sūtra 39: ஈறியன் மருங்கினு மிசைமை தோன்றும்
Iriyan maruṅginumiśaimai tōnrum
[i.e., it appears also when the final consonant of a word combines with the initial (surd) consonant of another word].

Nannūl, another old grammar of Tamil, deals with it in the following *sūtras*:—

Sūtra 87 of *Eluttiyal*:—

ஆய்தக்கிடர் தலையங்கா முயற்சி
Āydakk-idan-dalai (y)aiṅṅā muyarci
[i.e., *āydam* is produced in the head (i.e., the upper palate), through the opening of the mouth].

Sūtra 97: லளவிறியைபினா மாய்த மஃகும்
lalavittriyaipinām āydam ahkum
[i.e., when final *-l* or *-ḷ* of a word combines (with the initial surd of another word), the *āydam* produced is shortened].

Sūtra 228: குறில்வழி லளத்தவ் வனையி னாய்தம்
ஆகவும் பெறாஉம் அவ்வழியானே
kurilvali laḷattav-vaṇaiyiṇ-āydam
āḡavum perāum alvaliyāṇē
[i.e., *-l* and *-ḷ* after short syllables when combining with *-t* in *alvali* groups give rise to the *āydam*].

The earlier commentators of these *sūtras* of Tolkāppiyam and Nannūl have adduced in each case appropriate instances of old Tamil words and word-combinations containing the sound.

³ In the following borrowings from Kann. with and without initial *h-*, the *h-* forms are original; *h-* appears to have been dropped in the alternative words:—

<i>hannukāyi</i> , <i>aṇṇukāyi</i> (coconut and plantains)	—for <i>hanṇu</i> ; cf. Tel. <i>paṇḍu</i> (fruit).
<i>hadagu</i> , <i>adagu</i> (ship)	—cf. Kann. <i>paḍagu</i> , <i>haḍagu</i> , corrupt <i>adagu</i> (ship).
<i>hari</i> , <i>ari</i> (to flow)	—cf. Kannada <i>pari</i> , <i>hari</i> , <i>ari</i> (to flow).

The process of change in these cases appears to be original *p* > [F] > *h* > zero.

Putting all these together, we learn the following from these *sūtras* :— \

(a) The sound *āydam* occurs after initial short vowels (or syllables) and before surds, as in அஃது *ahtu* (that), எஃகு *ehku*- (steel), etc., etc.

(b) In combinative groups of the *alvaḥi* type, final -l or -ḷ of initial short syllabled words, when combining with the initial t- of the succeeding words, might alternatively give rise to the *āydam*, as in *kal* (stone)+*tīdu* (bad) > *kaḥḍ'īdu* (stone is bad), *muḷ* (thorn)+*tīdu* (bad) > *muḥḍīdu* (thorn is bad).

(c) Nannūl recognises the place of production of the sound as 'the head' (i.e., the upper palate) and the mode of articulation as 'the opening of the mouth.'

[B] THE OPINIONS OF DRAVIDIAN SCHOLARS.

Caldwell is of the view that the "Tamil letter called *āydam*, half vowel, half consonant, corresponding in some respects to the Sanskrit *visarga*, is pronounced like a guttural *h*, but is only found in the poets and is generally considered a pedantical invention of the grammarians."—(*Comparative Grammar*, 2nd edition, page 130.)

Julien Vinson (page 19 of his *Manuel de la langue Tamoule*) says that "the symbol ூ which Tamilians term தனிநிலை (*taninilai*) as it is never accompanied by vowels, and which is appropriately called *āydam* (minuteness, subtlety) is artificial and conventional." He proceeds to observe that "it was invented by the grammarians for the prosodic lengthening of certain syllables; it is found only after a short vowel and before க, ச, ட, த, ப, ம, accompanied by a vowel, and is pronounced in a soft manner, like a *g* aspirated very lightly : இது (this) having become இஃது is pronounced *igdu* (as a *trochee* or *spondee* instead of *pyrrhic* or *iambus*). In the manuscripts it is often replaced by கு (*gu*) or even கூ (*gū*). I have found passages in old poems, where it should count for one syllable and should therefore be pronounced *gu*; கஃதுடம்பு (*Kural*, xiv, 3); இஃதென (*Naiṣada*, xii, 43), etc. But generally it serves only to lengthen a syllable : இஃதில்லாந் (*Kural*, viii, 10) and is then pronounced without a vowel." Prof. Vinson also adds two footnotes. Adverting to the term ஆய்தம், he says that it "may mean 'weapon' or 'trident', if we take the Tamil word ஆய்தம் *āydam* for *āyudham* (Skt. आयुध) : the three dots would represent the mark of a trident. The form of this letter is probably derived from that of the Sanskrit *visarga*." In another footnote Vinson adds that "according to native grammarians, the sound proceeds from the head and is pronounced with the mouth open : this evidently means that it is a guttural aspiration."

Mr. S. A. Pillay, in his excellent monograph on 'The Sanskrit element in the vocabularies of the Dravidian languages' (*Dravidic Studies*, No. III, published by the Madras University, page 49) makes some very suggestive observations on the value of the Tamil *āydam* :—

"The spirant *h* is a sound not altogether foreign to Tamil. For, Tamil has the *āydam* *h* (ஃ) which is almost an equivalent of it. But the *āydam* differs from *h* in some ways. The *āydam* is found in a very few words in Tamil and is peculiar to Tamil. . . . It is only medial and its use is much restricted. . . . Dr. Caldwell's statement regarding this sound is, I am afraid, not based on a knowledge of facts. The *āydam* is not considered by anyone, so far as I know, a pedantical invention of the grammarians. What could have been the purpose in inventing such a letter? . . . The words are Tam. *ahtu* and *ihtu*. These ought to be pronounced with the aspiration, but the popular pronunciations are with a spirantic *gu* for *h*. . . The tendency of modern speech, however, it must be admitted, is to discard the *āydam* altogether. The words *ahtu*, *ihtu* are about the only ones commonly met with in books and in pedantic speech. They are also acknowledged to be variants of *adu* and *idu* and considered to be necessary when these words are in *sandhi* followed by words beginning with a vowel or *y*, e.g., *ahtaduppu*, 'that is the oven,' *ihtūr*, 'this is the village.' But to argue from that circumstance that the *āydam* is only an invention of the grammarians is like arguing that the letter *r* is only an invention of the Telugu or Kannaḍa grammarians because modern speech makes no distinction between *r* and *ṛ*, or rather knows only *r*."

Finally, we may cite here the observations of a recent editor of *Tolkāppiyam*: "The nature of ூ is similar to that of *jihvāmāliya* in Sanskrit as in *kaḥ-karoti* if it precedes a guttural and *upadhmāniya* as in Sanskrit *kaḥ-paṭhati* if it precedes a labial, i.e., its organ of articulation is determined by the succeeding consonant. Air is allowed to pass till the place of articulation of the succeeding consonant is suddenly arrested. Since it is not an open (*sic*) sound inasmuch as it is invariably preceded by a short vowel, it cannot be classified as a vowel: neither is it a consonant since it cannot be followed by a vowel. In modern times it is pronounced even before *c*, *t*, *p* and *ṛ*, as it is done before *k*. When this mistake (*sic*) began to creep in, is not easily traceable."

Conflicting in some respects are the views cited above regarding the value and the origin of the *āydam*. Mr. S. A. Pillay would consider it to be a native sound in Tamil; Vinson is inclined to regard it as an "invention by pedants," and Mr. Sastri (so far as we can see from his comparative references to Sanskrit spirants) is probably also inclined to this view. As to the value of the sound, Caldwell, Vinson and Mr. Pillay recognize its essentially aspirate character (despite the spirantic enunciation given to it today when texts are read), while Mr. Sastri would regard the sound as a spirant varying in value with the immediately following consonant, and would consider the modern velar spirantic value to be a "mistake" which crept in at some time which is not traceable."

[C] WAS THE *ĀYDAM* A 'PEDANTICAL INVENTION' INSPIRED BY SANSKRIT?

The arguments of those who would uphold a Sanskritic inspiration for this sound may be summed up thus:—

- (1) The term ஆய்தம் and the form of the Tamil letter could be connected with the Sanskrit word आयुध (weapon, trident). Other suggestions⁴ in this connection are that the Tamil term may be the adaptation of Sanskrit आश्रित *āśrita* or of आयन *āyana*.
- (2) The shape⁵ of the Tamil letter ூ is allied to that of the Sanskrit *visarga*.
- (3) The *āydam* occurs only in a few words and combinations in old Tamil texts, and it has not survived anywhere in the colloquial.
- (4) Some of the words in which this sound occurs, alternate with forms without this sound: these latter are the common forms and, therefore, the sound itself was 'invented' for prosodic purposes, probably on the model of the Sanskrit *visarga*.
- (5) Certain resemblances between the *āydam* on the one hand and the Sanskrit spirantic *jihvāmāliya* and *upadhmāniya* are very striking.
- (6) The postulate that Sanskrit grammatical systems had exercised great influence on ancient Tamil scholars would also tend to support this, generally speaking.

Those who argue *contra* would maintain the following:—

- (1) The *āydam* need have nothing to do with Sanskrit आयुध, as it is a native word signifying 'minuteness' or 'subtlety,' and this meaning would very appropriately convey the 'minute' value and character of this sound. The semantic confusion with Skt. आयुध should have arisen from the mistaken impression created by the shape of ூ. There is no conceivable reason why the name and form of a 'trident' or आयुध should originally have been conferred upon this sound.

⁴ Cf. the observations made on pages 161-3 of vol. XXV of the Tamil journal செந்தமிழ் *Sendamīl*. An attempt is made in this article to establish a *rapprochement* between the Tamil term ஆய்தம் and either *āśrita* or *āyana* of Sanskrit.

⁵ The article in *Sendamīl* (referred to above) suggests that the original shape given to the symbol for *āydam* might not have been ூ, but more allied to ௃, the *visarga* symbol of Sanskrit.

- (2) The fact that dots are used in Tamil and in Sanskrit need not necessarily disprove the *native origin* of the sound whose *secondary* character was probably fixed and recognised by Sanskrit-knowing Tamilians.
- (3) This point again raises, if at all, only the *secondary* character of the sound in Tamil.
- (4) The argument about 'prosodic lengthening' would not apply to instances of *mut'rāydam* like *ehgu*, which have no alternants.
- (5) The resemblance between the *āydam* and the Sanskrit spirants can lead to no inference, in the absence of any direct evidence.
- (6) The ancient Tamil grammarians who could well distinguish Sanskrit sounds from native ones, have nowhere referred to the *āydam* as a borrowing or as an 'invention.'

Apart from these arguments, there are certain other facts also which I shall urge here in favour of the native origin of this sound in Tamil. That the sound was not a common one in Dravidian admits of no doubt : but a discussion of the phonetic aspects of its growth with comparative reference to a similar development in the central Indian Dravidian dialect Gôṇḍi, would tend to show that the *āydam* was a native though secondary sound in Tamil. It is possible that recognition was given to it by Sanskrit-knowing scholars.

[D] WAS THE *ĀYDAM* A MERE ORAL FRICATIVE, OR DID IT INVOLVE AN ELEMENT OF THE GENUINE ASPIRATE, I.E., GLOTTAL FRICATIVE ALSO ?

(a) Nannūl describes the sound as being produced in the 'head' with an 'open mouth.' This description may apply to fricatives of the *velar*, *uvular* and *glottal* varieties alike. Whether the sound was originally a genuine glottal sound is not made clear by the description in Nannūl. We learn, however, one fact from these references to 'the head' and 'the open mouth,' and this is that the sound so described could not possibly have been labial, dental or palatal. It is clear therefore that at the time of the composition of Nannūl, the sound should have been either an aspirate or a back fricative of the velar or uvular type.

(b) Caldwell, Vinson (who calls the sound an 'aspiration gutturale') and Mr. Pillay regard the sound as a genuine aspirate. The modern value of the spirantic *g* when texts are read is (as Mr. Pillay has observed) probably only due to the characteristic modern tendency of giving the velar fricative value to intervocal aspirates, as shown for instance by the Tamilian pronunciation of Skt. *muhārtam* as *mugūrtam*, the intervocal *-h-* being evaluated as a velar fricative.

(c) Mr. Sastri would consider the sound to be a fricative, whose value may be labial, dental, palatal or velar according to the character of the immediately following surd. He is of opinion that the velar value given to it today when texts are read is a 'mistake.' The description given in the Nannūl and the uniformly velar value given to it today would show that no such 'mistake' could have crept in after the time of Nannūl. In the absence of evidence to show that there was really a 'mistake,' we have to regard the sound as a 'back' sound originally, whose exact value (i.e., whether it was only velar or whether it was glottal) has to be determined by a consideration of other factors.

The analogy pointed out to the *jihvāmūliya* and *upadhāmūliya* sounds of Sanskrit leads to nothing conclusive. For one thing, we have no evidence to prove that the Tamil sound was copied from these. Secondly, these Sanskrit sounds, 'grammatical abstractions' themselves (as Whitney puts it), probably had an aspirate value also beside the fricative values depending upon the immediately following surds : vide §§ 69 and 172 (d), Whitney's *Gr.*

The velar fricative value given uniformly to the *āydam* today, whatever the value of the surd concerned may be, taken along with the description given by Nannūl would point to the value of the sound having shared a common aspirate element from a very early stage.

This fact is, in my opinion, confirmed by (a) the phonetic features attending the production of the sound in Tamil, and (b) the existence in Gôṇḍi of a parallel secondary growth of a genuine aspirate.

[E] PHONETIC PROCESSES INVOLVED IN THE PRODUCTION OF THE ÂYDAM.

We have already seen that the voiceless mouth-fricatives (involving a wide separation of the vocal chords) and the genuine glottal aspirate are very closely related, and that the former may easily change into the latter (through the incorporation of the breath-current from the glottal region) in circumstances favouring the tendency to confer upon the mouth-fricatives an individuality and stability. We have seen above that the production of the secondary aspirate in different instances of different Dravidian dialects always involves a mouth-fricative stage.

So far as the Tamil *âydam* is concerned, let us note that—

- (a) it occurs after short initial syllables only ;
- (b) it crops up before surds only ;
- (c) it is accompanied by a certain degree of higher accent in the syllable of which it forms part, as Vinson has observed when he remarks that a definitely trochaic or spondaic value is given to words containing the *âydam*.

These facts are of particular significance in the explanation of the phonetic processes involved :—

- (i) The initial generation (under the influence of accent) of an unstable mouth-fricative corresponding to the surd and immediately before this surd.
- (ii) The conversion of this mouth-fricative into the aspirate as a result of the tendency (under the influence of the strong accent) to stabilise the mouth-fricative, whatever its original value may have been, i.e., whether it was [F] before -p, or [θ] before -t, or [ç] before -c, or [x] before -k.

[A] We shall take up the typical instance of அஃது, *aḥdu* (that). The common form of the word is *aḍu* ; but where it is accented in the first syllable as in *aḥṭaḍuppu* (that is an oven), etc., the approach to the surd -t generates initially a corresponding mouth-fricative [θ] immediately before -t, which [θ] under the influence of the accent assumes a secondary aspirate value through the incorporation of a current of breath issuing through the widely separated vocal chords.

It would be interesting in this connection to note that the structure of ancient disyllabic bases of Tamil is intimately connected with the *mātras* of the several sounds, and with accent generally. Bases with short vowels in radical positions followed by geminated consonants or consonant groups have only a short enunciative vowel [u] at the end. This sound described as குற்றியலுகரம் *kuṭ't'riyalugaram* by the Tamil grammarians has only the value of a half *mātrā*. The instances of *mut't'riyādam* given above come directly in this class ; for the terminal vowel has been described by the grammarians themselves as the short enunciative [u]. In cases where the radical vowel, though short, is followed by a single consonant, the terminal vowel is not the enunciative *kuṭ't'riyalugaram* [u], but the full [u] described as *mut't'riyalugaram*. When the radical vowel is long in old elementary Tamil bases, the immediately following consonant is single, and the final vocalic sound is only [u].

<i>kaṭṭu</i> (to join, attach together)	→	<i>kaṭ</i> + <i>ṭu</i>
<i>eḥku</i> (steel)	→	<i>eḥ</i> + <i>ku</i>
<i>āḍu</i> (goat)	→	<i>ā</i> + <i>ḍu</i>
<i>paḍu</i> (to fall)	→	<i>paḍ</i> + [u]

The distinct individuality of the *âydam* is thus made clear.

According to *sūtras* 424 and 425 of *Eluttadigāram* of *Tolkāppiyam*, the ancient Tamil grammar, அஃது *aḥdu*, இஃது *iḥdu* and உஃது *uḥdu* "retain" the *āydam* only if they are followed by words with initial vowels, e.g., அஃதாடை *aḥdāḍai*, whereas when the next word begins with a consonant, the *āydam* "is dropped," e.g., *adu pāl*.

Further, அஃது is employed with the *āydam* in expressions like அஃதே *aḥdē* (indeed ! all right !) carrying with them a certain amount of accent.

We have to remember that *adu*, *aḥdu*, *idu*, *iḥdu*, etc., are derived from demonstrative particles *a*, *i*, etc. These demonstrative particles in Tamil appear in certain contexts combined with *-v-*; but the original particles were undoubtedly devoid of *-v-*. When these original particles (in their short condition) combine with a word having a voiceless consonant initially, the *āydam* is generated immediately before the voiceless consonant, as in *a + kaḍiya > aḥkaḍiya*.

These facts directly show that the production of the *āydam* was connected with the distribution of the accent. When the accent is thrown straight upon the syllable containing the short demonstrative and the immediately following plosive, the *āydam* is generated. All such instances are associated with *sandhi* where the meaning leads necessarily to the association of accent with the syllable mentioned above. In *aḥt(d)ūr* (that is the village), etc., the accent falls on the syllable containing original *a* and *t*, consequent upon the intimate merging of *at(d)-* and *ūr*, whereas when this merging is impossible, in cases like *adu kaḍidu* (that is hard), the higher accent fails to be associated with *ad-* or original *at-*, and hence no *āydam* appears. In *aḥdē* (indeed ! all right !) the higher accent is obvious from the meaning. In *aḥkaḍiya*, the merging is complete because of the absence of *-t*, and therefore the higher accent falls on *a-k*, and the *āydam* is generated. It is therefore possible for us to infer that the demonstrative base *at-*, derived from an ancient demonstrative particle *a* and an original *-t*, gave rise to the accented form *aḥt-* in certain positions, while it was retained as *adu* (with the voicing of *-t-* to *-d-*) in unaccented positions.

[B] Other instances of what are commonly described as முற்றும்பதம், i.e., *āydam* that is organic, occur in the following Tamil words :—

- aḥgu-* (to be shortened, to pass away, to become closed or compressed as a flower) ;
- aḥgam* (food-grain) ;
- eḥg-* (to sift or scrutinise, to be unloosened, to lift, to climb) ;
- eḥg-am* (weapon, sharpness, etc.) ;
- veḥg-* (to desire ardently).

Julien Vinson observes in connection with these instances : *On a suggéré que, dans ces mots, le finale ne doit être qu'une dérivative, et que le ூ est une mutation euphonique d'un l ou ʃ radical*. This would mean that the above instances were originally of the combinative type, and that the *āydam* was produced in connection with an original *l* or *ʃ* combining with *k*. It may be interesting to find out how far this suggestion is true of the above instances, though no definitiveness may be possible in our analysis of these instances.

aḥgu (to be shortened, etc.) has been compared by the Tamil Lexicon to *alku* or *algu* with the meaning 'to be shortened.' In view of the fact that the deictic particle could, as usual in Dravidian, combine with various affix-morphemes of Dravidian and produce different deictic meanings, it is not clear whether there was at all any relationship in structure between *algu-* and *aḥgu-*. The Kannada cognate *akkudisu* with the same meaning furnishes no clue to this problem.

aḥgam (grain) has been compared by the Tamil Lexicon to Skt. *argha* ; but we have in Dravidian itself a base *ar-* (to cut) from which Kannada *akki* (through *arki*) and possibly Tamil *ariṣi* (rice) have arisen. What may have been the relationship of *ark-* to *aḥgam*, is not clear.

veḥku (to desire ardently) is connected with the Dravidian base *vě-* (to be hot) which has produced numerous forms with the help of affixes. Here one does not see any absolute necessity to trace the form with the *āydam* to a base with final *-l* or *!*, though one may conceivably connect it with *vēl* (to desire).

[C] Common instances of words with *āydam* in combinative positions are the following :—

- kal*+*tīdu* > *kaḥd'īdu* (the stone is bad)
muḥ+*tīdu* > *muḥd'īdu* (the thorn is bad)
pāl+*tuḷi* > *paḥd'uḷi* (many drops)
al+*tiṇai* > *aḥd'iṇai* (inferior group)

In the first three instances, alternatively we may have respectively also *kaḥt'īdu*, *muḥtīdu* and *paḥt'ruḷi*. The following points are significant in connection with this combinative change :—

(a) The *āydam* appears only in connection with *l* or *!*+the dental *t*. The surd involved is only the dental.

(b) The first word always has a short radical vowel; if this vowel is long, no change takes place (cf. *sūtras* 370 and 371 of *Eluttadigāram*, Tolkāppiyam), and not even the assimilative conversion happens, e.g., *pāl*+*tīdu* would be retained as *pāl tīdu* (the milk is bad).

The process whereby the *āydam* is generated is here again similar to that in *aḥtu*, *iḥtu* mentioned above. When the components merge into each other intimately, the higher accent falls on the syllable containing the surd (which becomes alveolar or retroflex on account of the influence of alveolar *l* or retroflex *!*, as the case may be) and the *āydam* is generated through the intermediate stage of the mouth-fricative corresponding to alveolar *t'* or retroflex *ṭ*. The alternative forms *kaḥt'īdu* and *muḥtīdu* with geminated surds instead of the group *āydam*+surd, confirm the existence of the higher accent in this syllable. In *pāl tīdu*, there is no merging of the components in view of the long vowel in *pāl*; and, therefore, neither assimilation nor the generation of the *āydam* is possible.

[F] SECONDARY -H- OF GŌṆḍĪ IN CONNECTION WITH VOICELESS PLOSIVES.

(a) Gōṇḍī causative stems, formed with the affix *-t* show a secondary *-h*⁶ immediately before *-t* in instances like the following :

- tirī-* (to be turned round) ~ *tiriht-* or *tiruht-* (to cause to turn round).
varī- (to fear) ~ *variht-*, *varhut-*, *varist-* (to cause to fear, to frighten).
karī- (to learn) ~ *kareht-* (to teach);
mei- (to graze) ~ *meht-* (to cause to graze);
tind- (to eat) ~ *tiht-* (to feed);
uṇḍ- (to drink) ~ *uht-* (to give to drink);
kaṛē (ṇg)- (to be shaken) ~ *kaṛhut-*, *kaṛuht-* (to shake).

⁶ The alternative forms with *-s* before *-t* were explained by me as probably due to the influence of Indo-Aryan instances, like the so-called "reversion" of *h* > sibilant in *niškāma*, etc. Since *h* > *s* in Indo-Aryan is a rare change, and since the cases of "reversion" referred to above may not have involved a real 'change' at all, a better explanation for the alternative *-s* of Gōṇḍī would be that here the fricative [ʃ] which we have postulated as an intermediate stage (in connection with *t*) in the production of the aspirate, changed into the sibilant in some cases, side by side with the conversion of [ʃ] to *-h*. It is significant that there is no alternative *-s* in connection with the aspirate appearing before the plural ending *-k* of Gōṇḍī words. [See below.]

All the above verbs are native Dravidian, with cognates in all the dialects. The causative affix *-t-* is also Dravidian, occurring as it does in certain contexts in Tamil, Malayālam, Kannaḍa and Kurukh.

(b) The plurals of Gôṇḍi nouns, formed with *-k* (which apparently is an attenuated representative of *-ka!*, *-ka* of other Dravidian dialects), show a secondary *-h-* immediately before *-k* in two sets of instances :—

(i) Nouns with final long vowels.

Singular.					Plural.
<i>talā</i> (head)	..	..	..	..	.. <i>tlāh̄k</i> .
<i>tārī</i> (girl)	..	..	..	..	.. <i>tārīh̄k</i> .
<i>pittē</i> (bird)	..	..	..	..	.. <i>pittīh̄k</i> .
<i>dūdū</i> (breast)	..	..	..	..	.. <i>dūdūh̄k</i> .
<i>sēnō</i> (old woman)	..	..	..	..	.. <i>sēnōh̄k</i> .

(ii) Nouns with final *-l*, *-n* or *-r* immediately preceded by long vowels.

Singular.					Plural.
<i>nār</i> (village)	..	..	..	..	.. <i>nāh̄k</i> .
<i>rôn</i> (house)	..	..	..	..	.. <i>rōh̄k</i> .
<i>miār</i> (daughter)	..	..	..	..	.. <i>miāh̄k</i> .
<i>sukkum</i> (star)	..	..	..	..	.. <i>sukkuh̄k</i> .
<i>malôl</i> (hare)	..	..	..	..	.. <i>malôh̄k</i> .

Now let us see what processes of change may have been operative in these types.

In (a) the sound *-h-* appears before the surd *-t* which being the causative affix was syllabically associated with a certain degree of accent. A contributory factor may have been the length of the immediately preceding vowel (as in *karī* 'to learn') which presumably also involved a certain higher accent.

In (b) we have two sets of instances. In (b) (i) we find a long vowel (presumably accented judged by the length) + *-k*, resulting in *-h̄k*. In (b) (ii) *-l*, *-n* or *-r* (immediately preceded by long vowels usually) + *-k* gives rise to *-h̄k*.

If the process of change in these instances is the generation of a glottal fricative through the intermediate stage of a mouth-fricative corresponding to the surd involved, we have here a parallel to the change that has probably resulted in the production of the Tamil *āydam*.

(a) and (b) (i) may be compared to the Tamil *mut't'rāydam* in *ehk-*, *ahtu*, etc. While in (a) the surd concerned is *-t*, in (b) the surd is *-k*.

(b) (ii) may be compared to the *āydam* of Tamil combinative group *kaht'īdu* where *-l+t* has resulted in the assimilation of the dental *t* to an alveolar, and in the production of *-h-* immediately before the alveolar.

The features of resemblance are very striking :—

(1) In both Tamil and Gôṇḍi, the aspirate occurs in connection with surds only ; while in Gôṇḍi the surds involved in the instances available for us are *t* and *k*, in Tamil all grammatical surds are concerned.

(2) In both Gôṇḍi and Tamil, the syllable containing the surd appears to carry with it a certain degree of accent (as a result either of semantic or mechanical reasons). In Gôṇḍi this higher accent is attested in (a) above by both the long vowel usually preceding the

causative affix and by the causative syllable itself, which bears a higher degree of psychological importance, and in (b) above by the length of the *final* vowel or of the vowel immediately preceding final *-l*, *-n* or *-r*.

So far as Tamil is concerned, the higher accent in *aḥdu*, etc., is attested by the peculiarly trochaic pronunciation of these forms; in combinative groups like *kaḥd'idu*, the same principle holds good and, in addition, the *combinative position* itself may lead to a certain extra accent.

The features of contrast between the Gôṇḍi and the Tamil instances are the following :—

(1) In Tamil the *āydam* evidences itself only in a few old words, while in Gôṇḍi, *-h-* actively appears in the living speech of today, regularly in certain circumstances in the plurals of nouns and causatives of verbs.

(2) In the second set of Tamil instances represented by *kaḥd'idu*, there is the assimilative conversion of the dental *-t-* to the alveolar under the influence of *-l-*, while in the Gôṇḍi instances referred to in (b) (ii) above, *-l*, *-n* or *-r* appears to have been absorbed in the process of the production of *-hk*.

Though the resemblances between the Tamil *āydam* and Gôṇḍi *-h-* in the above instances need not lead to the postulate of a common stage of change for these dialects, it is probable that they mirror a germinal trait of these two Dravidian dialects.

THE VIKRAMKHOL INSCRIPTION.

(SAMBALPUR DISTRICT.)

BY K. P. JAYASWAL, M.A. (OXON.), BARRISTER-AT-LAW.

1. VIKRAMKHOL lies within the jurisdiction of police thana Jhârsûgudâ in the district of Sambalpur, Bihar and Orissa. It is approachable from the small railway station Belpahâr on the main line of the Bengal-Nagpur Railway. From Belpahâr one has to go four miles south-west to Grindola, and thence another four miles in the same direction to Vikramkhôl. The road from Grindola crosses a corner of the Gangpur State. There is a village, Titliabahâl, near the rock of Vikramkhôl. The inscription is in a natural rock-shelter, six feet below the top. The rock is a rough sandstone. The rock-shelter is 115 feet in length and 27 feet 7 inches in height from the floor. It faces north-east.

2. The inscribed portion is about 35 feet by 7 feet. Some of the letters are sharply cut, but the incision-marks of the majority do not show sharp cutting. It seems that an iron chisel was not used. Some of the letters are partly cut and partly painted, while some letters are only in paint; but the majority are completely cut. It is evident that all the letters were first painted before being incised, which was the method regularly employed in the period of Brâhmî inscriptions. The colour of the paint is red-ochre, with which we are familiar in the prehistoric and historic caves and cave-buildings in India. To take a continuous photograph of all the letters (incised and painted), the incised letters have been carefully coloured. I have also had impressions of the incised letters taken by the usual method, and photographs in four parts of the squeeze are reproduced on the accompanying plates, together with the complete view referred to above and sections of the continuous photograph on a larger scale where the letters are very clear. I have also had tracings made of the painted portions. All this material is now in the Patna Museum. The estampages and the tracings have been made by the Curator of the Museum, Rai Sahib Manoranjan Ghosh. The photographs have been taken by the Patna Museum staff under the supervision of the Curator. The material has been collected under my direction.



K. P. J.

VIKRAMKHOLA INSCRIPTION

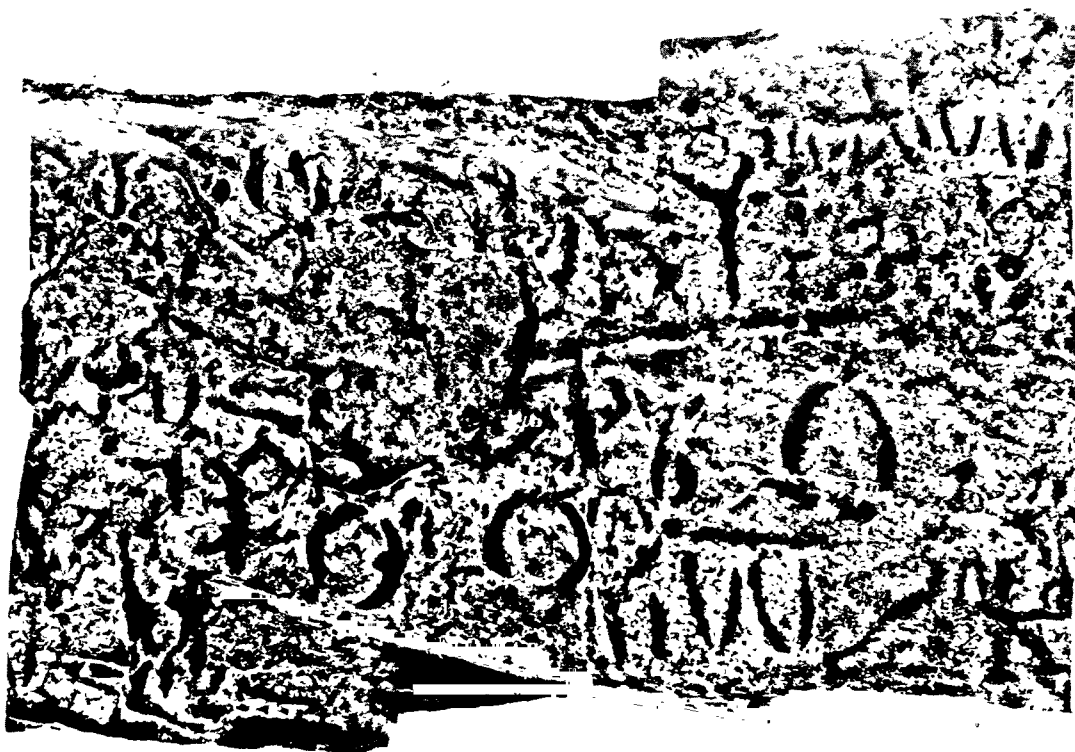
(District Sambalpur, Bihar and Orissa)

Plate 1. General view of the (inked) inscribed letters and symbols, taken from the north-east.



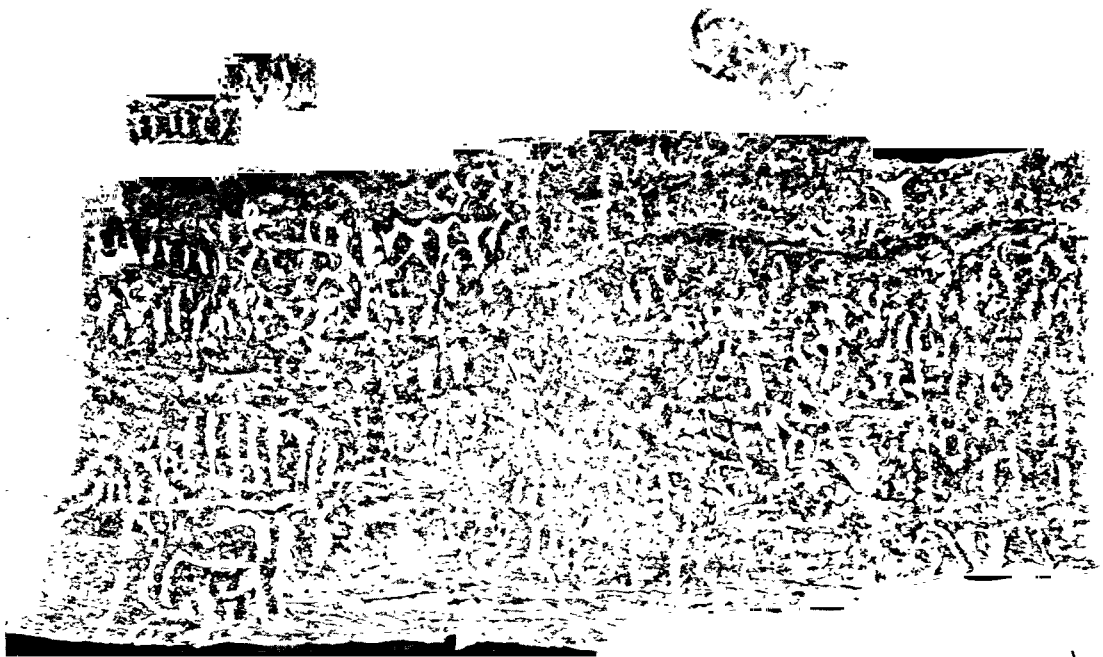
K. P. J.

Plate 2. Estampage of the inscription at Vikramkhol, 1st part, from the south-east.



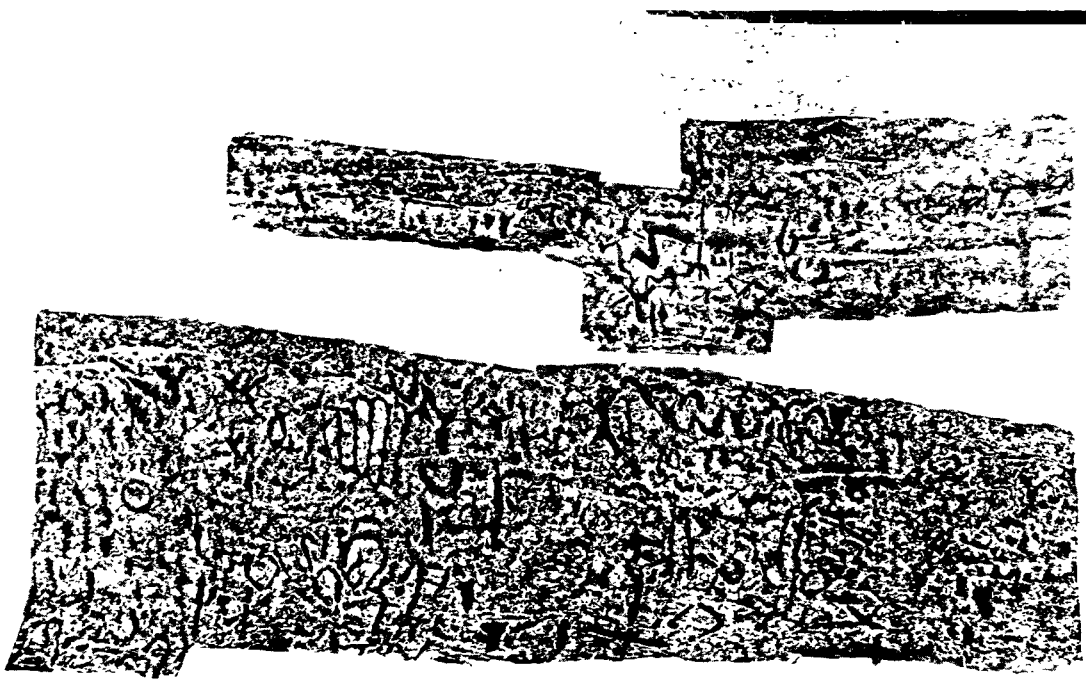
K. P. J.

Plate 3. Estampage of the inscription at Vikramkhol, 2nd part, from the south-east.



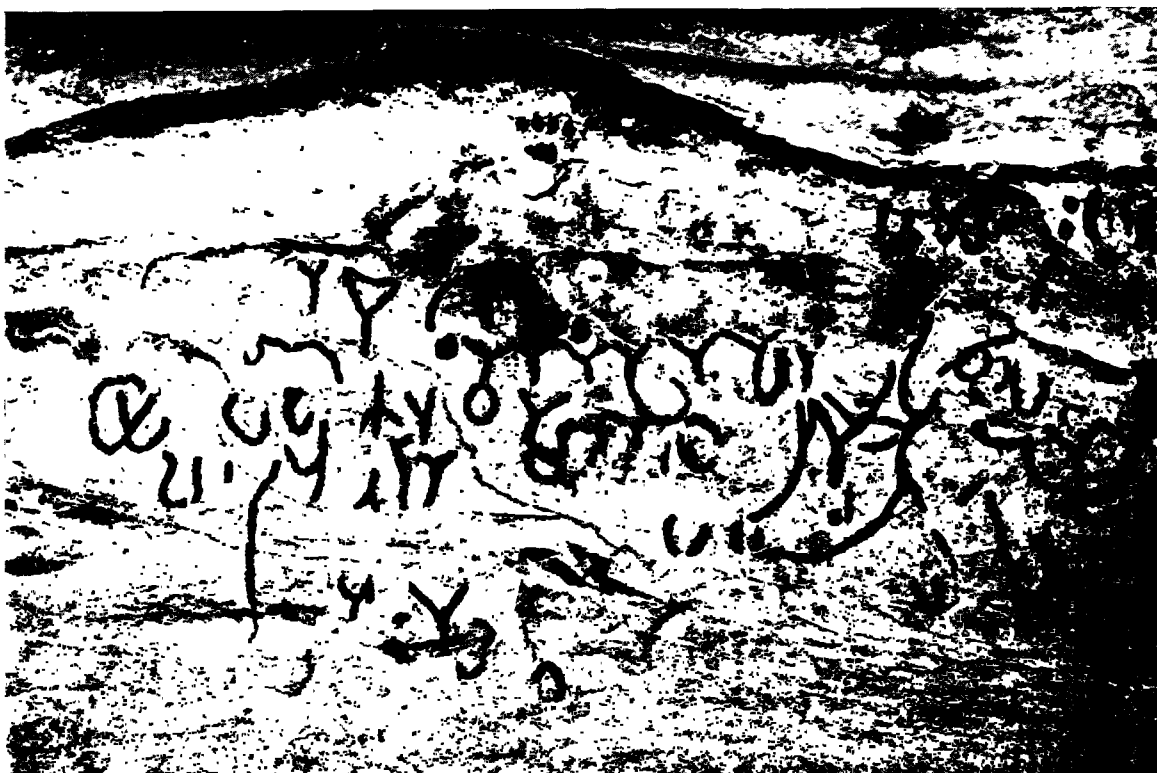
K. P. J.

Plate 4. Estampage of the inscription at Vikramkhol, 3rd part, from the south-east.



K. P. J.

Plate 5. Estampage of the inscription at Vikramkhol, 4th part, from the south-east.



K. P. J.

Plate 6. Vikramkhoh inscription : detail view of (inked) inscribed letters and symbols, 1st part, from the south-east.



K. P. J.

Plate 7. Vikramkhoh inscription : detail view of (inked) inscribed letters and symbols, 2nd part, from the south-east.



K. P. J.

Plate 8. Vikramkhoh inscription : detail view of (inked) inscribed letters and symbols, 3rd part, from the south-east.



K. P. J.

Plate 9. Vikramkhoh inscription : detail view of (inked) inscribed letters and symbols, 4th part, from the south-east.

3. The inscription was discovered by an educated Sādhu, Svāmī Jnānānanda. Mr. Lochan Prosad Pandey, founder and secretary of the Mahākosala Society of the Central Provinces, rendered valuable service by bringing it to our notice. At first I obtained an eye-copy of the letters, and since then scientific copies have been procured for the Patna Museum. I have to thank Mr. Senapati, Deputy Commissioner of Sambalpur, for the material help rendered to us in obtaining these copies.

4. An examination of the letters, which at first sight give the impression of having Brāhmī forms, showed that the writing was a mixture of Brāhmī forms and a developed type of the Mohenjodaro script. As the announcement of the discovery of the inscription and my opinion thereon has led to numerous inquiries, I hasten to publish the record for study by scholars, along with a few observations of my own, as set out below.

Conclusions.

5. The inscription is a writing : this cannot be doubted. My reasons for this conclusion are :—(i) The symbols were first carefully painted and then inscribed after the fashion of inscriptions, ; (ii) the writing is in regular lines (the lines are not always straight, owing partly to the very rough surface on which they are inscribed) ; (iii) the symbols have set forms, which disclose ' writing habits ' in the phraseology of handwriting experts. The hand which first painted the letters was used to writing with a pen : this is evident from Plate 6.

6. The system knows the *bindu*, and also, probably, the *visarga*. Some letters have dots placed below them, while in some cases dots seem to give a discriminative value to the letters, as in Semitic writing.

7. The right-hand corner top line on Plate 8, where the same symbol is repeated more than once, may point to the employment of numerals.

8. There is an animal figure which is probably not a part of the writing, but a symbol. There is, however, one symbol like a bellows placed side-ways, which recurs.

9. The writing seems to me to be from right to left (see, particularly, Plate 6).

10. It is evident that some of the letters disclose accentuation. Repetition of the same letter twice probably suggests consonantal duplication or conjuncts.

11. The writing seems to have reached the syllabary (alphabetic) stage.

Comparison with Mohenjodaro Script.

12. The bellows-shaped letter above the animal figure may be compared with the Mohenjodaro letter No. 119 (vol. II, p. 440). The first letter (right-hand) in the top line on Plate 6 should be compared with Mohenjodaro No. 162, and the system of dots with the same system in series 175 (*ibid.*, p. 445).

13. The letter of the shape of the Brāhmī *g* may be compared with Mohenjodaro Nos. 100-102, 133, 144, 146 and 148. The shape of Mohenjodaro No. 133 is identical with the eighth letter of the second line in Plate 8.

14. The fourth letter in line 2, Plate 8, may be compared with Mohenjodaro 96 series. A variation of it is found in the seventh, or bottom, line at Vikramkhoh.

15. The X shape of Vikramkhoh should be compared with Nos. 98-99 of Mohenjodaro.

16. The circle-letter like the Brāhmī *th*, and the oval letters are noteworthy. They seem to be consonants on account of their repetition in one place. In Plate 7, the third letter after the animal (reading from left to right) is accentuated. It occurs in Plate 8 with two dots inside, resembling the Brāhmī *tha*. These shapes may be compared with Nos. 224 and 219 of Mohenjodaro. The form at Mohenjodaro is always oval.

17. The Y-shaped letter has a Kharoṣṭhi look ; and so have a few more forms. But, on the whole, the theory of a proto-Kharoṣṭhi script is excluded, unless we assume that Brāhmī and Kharoṣṭhi had a common parentage.

18. I regret that I have not got sufficient time at my disposal at present to dive deeply into the matter and propose any reading. I present the problem for the consideration of scholars engaged in this field of study.

19. It seems that the theory I put forward in 1920 (*JBORS.*, vol. VI, p. 188 ff.), that Brāhmī is an indigenous Indian writing, receives confirmation from this find, for its letters are nearer Brāhmī than any other script. In that paper I also pointed out a very probable connection between Brāhmī and the writing on the Harappa seals.¹

The Vikramkhoh inscription supplies a link between the passage of letter-forms from the Mohenjodaro script to Brāhmī. The Vikramkhoh record, however, need not necessarily be an Aryan piece of writing.²

Age of the Inscription.

20. Now, what would be the approximate age of the Vikramkhoh inscription ? The writing is certainly earlier than the earliest specimen of Brāhmī known so far ; and Brāhmī was completed before 1500 B.C.³ We would be within the range of a fair approximation in dating it about 1500 B.C.

¹ "There is the Cairn writing in the South but in the North there is a vast gap between 1500 B.C. and the sixth century B.C. to be filled up by positive evidence. A link seems to be found in the Harappa seals, one of which was published by Cunningham, who maintained that it contained the origin of Brāhmī. Two more seals in the same characters were published by the late Dr. Fleet (*JRAS.*, 1912). The readings of two of these seal legends have been suggested by Cunningham and Fleet (*JRAS.*, p. 699), and of the third one by me (*IA.*, 1913, p. 203). It seems to me that it is possible to solve them in the near future, especially with our increasing knowledge of pre-Mauryan letters and with an increased number of Harappa seals. Sir John Marshall has got a few more of these seals which he has kindly promised to lend me for study. Letters from the photograph of two of them are reproduced in the chart with the permission of Sir John. Three things are certain about these seals. One of the legends ('C') of Fleet shows that it was intended to be read from left to right as the legend does not cover the whole space, and its beginning and end are distinguishable. The script has the Hindu system of using abbreviated forms of letters, for one letter which appears in full in one seal ('A' of Fleet) appears as abbreviated, either as a *mātrā* or as a conjoint consonant, in two places (in 'A' and 'B'). Then there is a ligature where *v* is joined to *y* or some other letter. That the characters are not a syllabary is seen by the addition on the head of one letter (in 'C') which appears without it in another place ('A'). The addition is evidently a *mātrā*, probably an *a* in a stage when it is fully represented ; it is separate from the letter on the top of which it is placed. The characteristics therefore seem to be those of the Brāhmī, but the letters are so old that they are not yet fully recognized. In the new seals we have a letter which is almost unmistakably *a*, and the form is such that the oldest Semitic and Brāhmī forms for *a* are derivable from it [the whole legend I tentatively read as *Abhayah*...]."—*JBORS.*, VI (1920), pp. 199-200.

² The locality, according to the Purāṇic race-history, would suggest the record to be a pre-Dravidian '*Rākṣasa*,' record. *Rākṣasa* is the generic name for the race dispossessed by the Aryans. They extended up to the Indian Archipelago. [*Nāga* was probably a sub-division of theirs.] The Goṇḍas are their remnants.

³ I have set forth in some detail my reasons for coming to this conclusion in *JBORS.*, vol. VI (1920), p. 198. to which reference is invited.

THE GAṆḌISTOTRA.

By E. H. JOHNSTON, M.A.

AMONG the minor Buddhist works which have been brought to light by modern research few are more interesting than the *Gaṇḍistotra*, the Sanskrit text of which was recovered by Baron A. von Stael-Holstein from a transcription into Chinese characters with the help of a Tibetan translation and published in *Bibliotheca Buddhica* XV in 1913. The reconstitution of the poem from such scanty materials raised a number of troublesome problems, the great majority of which were successfully solved by the editor's skill and acumen; and the full apparatus provided by him smoothes the way for others who have the advantage of starting where he left off. So far as I can ascertain, the text has not been critically considered by other students, who have perhaps been put off by a valuable introduction and notes being written in a language so little known generally as Russian, and it seems, therefore, worth while publishing my results. My emendations are in the direction of bringing the readings into closer accord with the Chinese transcription and the Tibetan translation, but in view of their number it is easiest to make them intelligible by printing a fresh version of the original. As the poem has never been translated, I add a fairly literal rendering into English; this procedure has the further advantages of emphasizing the weak and doubtful places of the text and of enabling me to cut down the bulk of the notes.

A few introductory remarks are necessary. The Chinese transcription, which I call C, is published as No. 1683 in the Taisho Issaikyo edition of the Chinese Tripitaka under the name of *Chien-Chih-Fan-Tsan*. Chien-Chih (i.e., *gaṇḍi* transliterated) is spelt, wrongly probably, in the *Bibl. Buddh.* edition Chien-Ch'ui, the difference between the two characters (Giles, no. 1871 and 2823) being only the short cross stroke which is added to radical 75 to make it radical 115. I follow C in omitting the word *gāthā* in the title, which appears to be an unauthorised addition by the Tibetan. The transliteration was executed by Fa T'ien, whose name was later altered to Fa Hsien, a monk of Nālandā, who worked in China in the last quarter of the tenth century A.D. It was intended for ceremonial recitation, for which purpose an absolutely accurate text was not apparently thought essential. Study of C shows a number of mistakes which could only proceed from the use of a faulty Sanskrit MS. and which might, one would think, have been easily corrected by anyone with an elementary knowledge of that language. These errors are of a type occurring in mediæval Nepalese MSS. of, say, the eleventh and twelfth centuries, such as the confusion of *dha*, *ba* and *va*, which disfigures almost every verse, of *pa* and *ya*, of *su* and *sta*, of *kṣa* and *ṣa*, etc., so that, when C is at fault, we are entitled to try anything which we might expect to find in corresponding Nepalese MSS. The Tibetan translation, which I call T, is as literal as usual, but not always easy to turn back into Sanskrit; and I therefore give the Tibetan in the variants where the restoration is not certain. The editor's own readings and views I quote under the letter H, but I have not adopted his numbering of each *pāda* consecutively; his notes follow this numbering and contain some conjectures by other scholars.

The editor follows T in attributing the verses to Āśvaghoṣa, giving as additional reasons the tradition connecting that poet with a *gaṇḍi* (a long piece of wood struck with a wooden pestle to summon the monks, which for lack of an English equivalent I call a gong) and the similarity of the style to that of a verse given to him in the *Kaṇḍavacanasamuccaya*. These grounds in themselves have little force, and the ascription is not followed by C or even considered worth mention by the editors of *Hobogirin* in the *Fascicule Annexe*. The verse in the anthology is written in a style entirely different to that of Āśvaghoṣa, of whom enough is preserved to enable us to form a clear conception of his poetic methods, and the Chinese and Tibetan translations attribute works to him almost at random. Nor can I see much in the *Gaṇḍistotra* which reminds me of him. Many of the words in it are not to be found

in his genuine poems and the language and style in general seem to me quite certainly to belong to a later epoch. The preoccupation with sound in preference to sense is also symptomatic of lateness and I miss the closely packed construction and the carefully arranged balance which is so characteristic of Āśvaghoṣa. Further the latter's affection for similes is not to be found here and it looks as if the one elaborate comparison, that in verse 12, is an attempt to improve on *Raghuvamśa*, vi, 85. Confrontation of the passages of this poem describing Māra's temptation with canto xiii of the *Buddhacarita* will make these points clear. It will be noted that verse 20 refers to Kashmir, showing that the poem was written there; that T omits the name is not sufficient reason for doubting the reconstruction of it from C, since we know from the *Sragdharāstotra*, a work of the eighth century and in a style which seems to be later than that of the *Gaṇḍīstotra*, that this form of composition was practised there. Āśvaghoṣa is described in the colophons of his two epics as belonging to Śāketa, though there is a tradition that he went to live in Kashmir. If we could have held that the poem was his, this would have been admirable corroboration of the tradition, but, as it is, in the absence of any cogent evidence I conclude on subjective grounds that the poem, so far from being from his hand, is of a date posterior by some centuries to him and is not necessarily all by the same hand or of the same date.

In the translation I have only used asterisks to show the sounds of the gong, which in some of the earlier verses drown the words. These sounds are represented in a way evidently intended to suggest the mood of the words obliterated by them and probably reproduce the various methods in which the gong could be struck, like the sounds which the *Bhāratīya Nāṭyaśāstra* uses for beating a drum. The variants given omit unimportant errors in C but give H's reading wherever I have departed from his text.

गण्डीस्तोत्रम्, THE LAUDS OF THE GONG.

यः पूर्वं बोधिमूले रविगमनपथान्मार गागृङ्गागृङ्-
गागागृङ्गागगागृङ्गनघघनघघृद् बद्धसंनद्धकक्षैः।

यः स्त्रीभिर्दिव्यहृषैर् दुदुपतिदुदुभिर्दुदुभिर्दुदुभिः

क्षीमे नैवानुयातः सुरनरनमितः पातु वः शाक्यसिंहः ॥ १ ॥

Var. *b*, °घृद् घद्° C; °मेद् बद्ध°, T; °घृङ् बद्ध°, H.

c. दुदुपतिदुदुभिर्दुदुभिर्दुदुभिः, T.

1. The Lion of the Śākyas, adored by gods and men, did not waver of yore beneath the Tree of Illumination before the . . . of Māra, as they, from the path where the sun travels, . . . with their bodies girt in armour, or before the divine forms of women. . . . May He protect you !

In *a* T takes *māra* as the first part of *mārayata*, but nowhere else does the gong drown part of a word and despite the parallels quoted by H for the use of such expressions by the demons, it seems better to take it as the first word of a compound, the rest of which is obliterated. In *b* T either read *baddhasamīnāhakakṣaiḥ* or else took *samīnaddha* in the sense of *samīnāha*. It renders *kakṣa* by *lus*, 'body,' and I translate accordingly. It might also mean, 'with their clothes tightly girt up.' But *kakṣāsamīnāha* is used in *Bṛhatsamhitā* (ed. Bombay, 1897), 94, 13 (in other editions 96, 4), for harnessing an elephant, and in accordance with the simile common in *kāvya* of lions defeating elephants we may possibly have to understand here that Māra's followers are depicted as elephants conquered by the lion of the Śākyas; if so, translate, 'with their girths tightly bound.'

यः कन्दर्पाङ्गनानां कृकृकृकृहाहाहृतीति प्रहासै-

यैः स्फीताङ्गमराणां तटिततटितटानाटिटीति प्रज्ञापैः ।

Asphota refers to the slappings of arms and thighs, still practised in India before a fight by wrestlers and bravoës to frighten their opponents; cf. *MBh.* (Calc. ed.), iii, 11130-1. H under 13b (p. 124) takes it to mean 'shivering.' He translates *âtopa* here 'multitude,' but cf. *Uvâsagadasâo* (ed. Hoernle), p. 58, *ukkadaphudakudîlajadîlakakkasaviyadaphudâdovakarapadacchañ*, 'skilled at making its hood swell large, etc.'

दिव्यैराकर्षपुरैः कमलदलानिभैः पद्मलीलाविजोले—

भाविन्नगधैर्विदग्धैः प्रचलितलज्जितैः सस्मितैर्भ्रूविजार्सैः ।

नेत्रैर्मोहाङ्गनानां परिगतरभसैर्जोहितान्तरशान्तैः—

नोकृष्टः सर्वथा यस्मिन्महृषिवरं बान्तदोषं नमामि ॥ ६ ॥

Var. b, *sin-tu chags-pas* (तावन्नगधैः ?) T. *rab-tu rnam-rgyas mthun-pa dan bcas* (प्रवितत...सस्मितैः ?), T.

6. The divine eyes of Mâra's damsels, stretching to their ears like petals of the blue lotus and rolling behind flickering eyelashes, appeared soft with emotion, artful, and charming with twinklings and smiles and with the movements of eyebrows; they were restless and reddened at the ends in the fullness of their longings. Yet the most excellent Seer, Who had cast out all sin, was in no way attracted by them. To Him I do obeisance.

H divides *âkarnapûraiḥ* into *â* and *karnapûra*; I follow T in dividing into *âkarna* and *pûra*, but of course the author also means to suggest that the eyes take the place of the blue lotuses stuck in the ears as ornaments. The use of *rabhasa* for 'longing,' 'sexual desire,' which is corroborated by T, is late (e.g., *Gitâgovinda*, *Kathâsaritsâgara*, *Bhâgavata Purâṇa*).

नोङ्कान्तं यस्य चित्तं स्फुटविकटसटैः संकटैर्जोलेजिह्वैः—

मरैः भूलाग्रहसैर्जितुरगमुखैः सिंहशार्दूलवज्रैः ।

प्रयुञ्जः कामदेवस्तृषण्णदगणितो येन संसारभीरुः

संबुद्धः पातु युष्मान्वयपगतकलुषो लोकनाथो मुनीन्द्रः ॥ ७ ॥

7. His mind was not bewildered by the close-set ranks of Mâra, armed though they were with spears and displaying awe-inspiring coils of hair and protruding tongues, with the faces of elephants and horses or the masks of lions and tigers. Afraid only of the cycle of existence, He recked no more of Pradyumna, the god of Love, than of a blade of grass. May He, from Whom all impurity has passed away, the All-Enlightened, the Lord of the World, the Chief of Sages, protect you !

This verse seems to be an alternative (and later ?) version of the next verse, whose third line is faulty by making it appear that the epithets *sarvavid vîtarâgaḥ* apply to Kâmadeva. The legend that Kâma was reborn as Pradyumna is late and is not mentioned in the *MBh.*; for details see the *Bhâg. Pur.*

चक्षोभ्या यस्य बुद्धिर्धरश्चिनगनदीः सागराम्भो धरद्भि—

र्गैर्जद्भिर्मोरवीरैर्विविधशतमुखैर्वोररूपैरनन्तैः ।

येनासौ पुष्पकेतुस्तृषण्णदगणितः सर्वविद्वीतरागः

स श्रीमान्बुद्धवीरः कलुषभयहरः पातु वो निर्विकारः ॥ ८ ॥

Var. a, *chu-bohi glun* (°नदनदीः ?), T.

8. He did not falter from his intent, when the innumerable bellowing warriors of Mâra in terrifying shapes with a hundred varied faces armed themselves with the earth, mountains, rivers, the ocean itself. All-knowing and passionless, He recked no more of the flower-bannered god than of a blade of grass. May the Enlightened Hero, the Incarnation of Majesty, Who is free from all perturbation of soul and dispels the danger of impurity, protect you !

मभ्रञ्मिभ्रञ्मभिभ्रञ्ममुखमुखसुमाङ्गुः सुमाङ्गुः सुमङ्गुः

गभिर्ध्वानैर्न भीतः सुरनरनामितः पातु वः शक्यसिंहः ॥ ११ ॥

11. with grim noises, wantonness . . . weapons . . . by such sounds was the Lion of the Śākyaas, adored by gods and men, not terrified. May He protect you !

Amend to *khumañkhur ebhir* in *cd* ?

यं माराकारधाराधरसमयसमारम्भसंरम्भमुक्तं

नक्तं नाङ्गाङ्गनानां मुखकमलवनश्रीविपक्षैकपक्षा ।

सम्यक् संबोधितस्मीः शक्तिनमिव शरत्कौमुदी संप्रपेदे

तस्येयं धर्मदूती ध्वनति भगवतो धर्मराजस्य गण्डी ॥ १२ ॥

Var. *a*, माराचार°, *C* ; माराङ्गर°, *H*.

12. As autumnal brilliance, in that fortnight which is the enemy of the beauty of the blue lotus beds, comes at night to the moon, when it is delivered from the fury of the cloudy season's assault, so the Majesty of Perfect Enlightenment, the best of allies and enemy of the beauty of the lotus-faces of the disembodied god's damsels, came that night to Him when He was delivered from the fury of Māra's assaults. Such is the Holy King of the Law, the message of whose Law is sounded by this gong.

H's conjecture in *a* is impossible. T omits the word, which was therefore one of no importance ; my suggestion meets this point and is satisfactory palæographically. This use of *ākāra*, which recurs in verse 20, suggests a latish date for the poem. *Kaumudī* here means both 'moonshine' and the 'full-moon day of Āsvin.' H takes *vipakṣa* to mean 'victor,' for which there is no authority ; the standard meaning is 'opponent' (*mi-mihun* = *pratikūla*, T) and possibly in the simile it ought to mean also 'the day in which the moon passes from one fortnight to another.' But I cannot work this in. In the main sentence I divide *°vipakṣā ekapakṣā*, the latter word recalling the common use of *eka* in the inscriptions ; in the simile I regard it as a single compound. *Nāṅga* for *Anaṅga* is noteworthy, as also the imperfect cæsura at the fourteenth syllable of *a*.

निघ्नन्नप्राप्तवृत्तिः क्षणमपि विचरत्यन्तकोऽयं दुरन्त-

स्तन्निक्षिप्तान्यचित्ताकुरुत सुचरितेष्वदरं सर्वकालम् ।

इत्थं रत्नत्रयाज्ञामिव वहति सुहुः प्राणिनो यस्य शैक्षा-

यैषा मन्दायमानप्रथितमुखरदिगमखड्जा धर्मगण्डी ॥ १३ ॥

Var. *a*, *rin-po-nas* (दुरतः), T. *b*, °चित्ताः कुरुत, H. *c*, *gsun-gyi*

bkaḥ-bsgor zhugs-pa (°त्रयाज्ञामधिवहति ?), T. *cd*, शैषायैषा, C; *slob-*

pa gañ yin-pa (शास्त्री यैषा ?), T.

13. Ill-omened Death stalks about yonder never satisfied even for a moment with striking down. But this gong of the Law, before which the far-flung music of the spheres sinks to a murmur, has ever shown its devotion to good works by depositing the hearts of others with Him, Whose orders in the shape of the Three Jewels it conveys, as it were, incessantly for the instruction of living beings.

A very difficult verse, only partially and incorrectly restored by H. T seems to indicate a locative absolute in *a* (*nighnaty aprāptatṛptaṭau* . . . *vicaraty antake dūrato 'smin* ?). H's imperative in *b* spoils the verse, which contrasts Death and the gong, both ever active, but one for good and the other for evil. T certainly takes the gong as the subject of *b*. *Saikṣāya* in *c* is difficult ; the sense requires *śikṣāya*, which is unmetrical.

मार्ताखड्गमखड्गमिवोदुग्धं विजित्य भातीह तीर्थिकजनं निजज्ञासनं च ।

रंरश्यते धराभिमखड्गमखड्गनस्य गण्डीयमस्य जयद्विदिग्धमवत्प्रचण्डा ॥ १४ ॥

Var. *c*, रंरम्यते, C H.

एषा हि गण्डी रक्षते नगानां संबोधने देवनरासुराणाम् ।

भद्राः श्रुध्वं सुगतस्य गण्डीमापूरितां भिक्षुगणैः समग्रैः ॥ १९ ॥

Var. a, नगाणां, C; *sgrogs-pa-yi mi-rnams* (रक्षतां नराणां), T. b, संबोधते, T.

19. For this gong roars forth its invitations to Nāgas (?), gods, men and Asuras. Listen, good Sirs, to the Sugata's gong being struck by the entire company of monks.

I can find no satisfactory explanation of the first hemistich; it was H who suggested that *nagānām* = *nāgānām*. *Ran* is unusual in the middle voice.

नागैः संवर्तकानक्षुभितजलधराकारवद् व्योम्नि कीर्णैः

कर्मिरध्वंसशङ्काभयचकितजनास्तत्प्रतीकारहेतोः ।

कुर्वन्त्यद्यापि यस्या ध्वनिमुपशमितशेषतीर्थ्यावलेपं

सा गण्डी पातु युष्मान्सकलमुनिवरैः स्थापिता धर्मवृद्धौ ॥ २० ॥

Var. a, कीर्णैः, H. b, कर्मरे ध्वंस°, H.

20. The folk tremble with fright in foreboding of the ruin of Kashmir, when the sky is full of Nāgas in shape like the chaotic clouds of the time of the world's destruction, and they seek deliverance in making the gong, set up by all the eminent sages for the prosperity of the Law, resound so as to humble the boundless pride of the heretics. May it protect you !

एषा सुरासुरमहारेगसत्कृतस्य शान्तिं परामुपगतस्य तथागतस्य ।

गण्डी रक्षत्यमरदुन्दुभितुल्यघोषा कृतान्यतीर्थहृदयानि विदारयन्ती ॥ २१ ॥

Var. c, ° घोषान्, H. d, कृतान्यतीर्थ°, C; कृतान्यतीर्थ°, H; *mu-stegs-can gzhan-gyi* (= चन्यतीर्थ्य°), T.

21. To the Tathāgata, Who is honoured by gods, Asuras and the mighty snakes, and Who has reached the supreme peace, belongs this gong with the voice like the drums of the Immortals, which resounds so as to cleave the hearts of the followers of other teachers.

I take *kṛtānyatīrtha* to be equivalent to T's text; H's amendments are more drastic, make a poorer sense, and do not accord with T.

पुण्ये तत्परमानसा भवत भोः स्वर्गापवर्गप्रदे

पापं दुर्गतिदायकं कुरुत मा लोकाश्च जं जीवितम् ।

इत्थं मध्यनिर्जानभृङ्गविरुतैर्जल्पान्निवायं स्वयं

मारारेश्वरबाञ्जयोर्विनिहितः पुष्पाञ्जलिः पातु वः ॥ २२ ॥

Var. c, जल्पत्रयायाचिरम्, C; जल्पत्रयायां गिरं, H. *lta-bar bdag-gis smra-ba-yi* (जल्पत्रिव स्वयं), T.

22. May this handful of flowers, laid at the lotus-feet of the Enemy of Māra, protect you, as it murmurs, as it were of itself, with the humming of the bees lying in its midst, "Sirs, keep your minds intent on the merit which grants both heaven and final release. Good folk, avoid sin, which leads to rebirth in Hell; life is fleeting."

Ayam, though not in T, is required somewhere in the second hemistich; hence the amendment. C may have got *ciram* from the next verse. The verse is characteristic of the later *kāvya* style.

मुञ्चद्भिः कुसुमानि तूर्यरश्मितैरापूरयद्भिर्दिशो

जोजोकारपुरःसरैः सुरगणैः शक्रादिभिः सादरैः ।

स्वर्गाद्यस्य भुवं किञ्चावतरतो दत्तानुयात्रा चिरं

तस्याव्यात्करुणानिधेर्भगवतो गण्डी प्रचण्डा जगत् ॥ २३ ॥

23. It is said that on His descent from heaven to earth He was respectfully accompanied far on His way by Śakra and the rest of the company of the gods, who acclaimed Him with shouts of triumph, as they cast flowers and filled the welkin with the noise of their drums. May the fierce gong of the Holy Store of Pity guard the world !

गत्वा सप्तपदानि मातुर्द्वाराभिष्कान्तमात्रः स्वयं
संसाराद्विरतिं करोम्यहमिति प्रोवाच योऽनल्यधीः ।
यस्यानल्यभवे बभूव वचनं भ्राजिष्वभिष्याहृतं
भूयाद्भुः सुगतस्य तस्य जयिनो गण्डी तमःखण्डिनी ॥ २४ ॥

24. Walking seven steps of Himself as soon as He emerged from His mother's womb, with full knowledge He said, 'I make an end of the cycle of existence.' Splendid was His speech, uttered with regard to an existence already so prolonged (through countless previous births). May the gong of the Conquering Sugata break up the darkness of your minds !

The third *pāda* is not clear to me and I began it with something like *yasmiñ jātibhave*, which I cannot determine exactly.

जित्वा मारवत्सं महाभयकरं कृत्वा च दोषक्षयं
सार्वज्ञं पदमाप यः सुरचिरं तत्रैव रात्रावपि ।
तस्याशेषगुणावरस्य मुधियो बुद्धस्य शुद्धात्मनो
गण्डी खण्डितचण्डिकित्त्वित्तया भूयाद्विभूतौ नृणाम् ॥ २५ ॥
Var. *b*, तत्रैविरात्रावहि, C; तत्रैव रात्रौ बहिः, H; *hdir ni de-bzhin*
(तत्र तथा or तत्रैवम्), T.

25. After defeating the awesome hosts of Māra and extirpating the vices, in that same spot that very night the wise, pure-souled Buddha, the Mine of all virtues, reached the blissful stage of Omniscience. May His gong enure to the welfare of men by its power to annihilate the blackest guilt !

The end of *b* is uncertain, but H's *bahih*, which he translates 'far from other human beings,' seems to me out of the question. For *sārvajñam padam* cf. *Mūlamadhyamakakārikās* (Bibl. Buddh. IV), p. 431, l. 9.

ब्रह्मा मूर्खे इवाभवत्सुरगुरुर्गर्वं जहौ सर्वथा
शर्वः खर्वमतिर्बभूव भगवान्विष्णुश्च तूष्णीं गतः ।
इत्थं यद्वृक्षकीर्तनेषु विबुधा याता ह्रिया मूकतां
गण्डी तस्य मुनेर्जराभयमिदः पायादपायाज्जनान् ॥ २६ ॥

Var. *a*, C om. मूर्खे; *lkugs-pa* T. *b*, सर्वः, C H; *htsho-byed(sīva)*, T. *d*, मुनेर्जनाभयमिदः,
C H; *hgro-baḥi hjigs-pa med-paḥi hgro-rnams* (जनाभयान्जनान्) T.

26. When the virtues of the Sage, Who has rent asunder the terrors of old age, were thus celebrated by His gong, the gods became dumb from very shame, Brahman became as it were an idiot, the guru of the gods lost all his arrogance, Śarva turned imbecile, and Lord Viṣṇu held his peace. May it preserve the folk from evil rebirth !

In a *lkugs-pa* properly=*mūka*, but H's conjecture is possible and avoids the repetition of the word. So I accept it. H's Sarva could only be Kṛṣṇa. *Yātā mūkatām* is a form of construction which becomes usual only much later than Aśvaghoṣa and is not used by him ; cf. the next verse. *Janābhayaḥ* in *d* could only agree with *apāyāt* and is not probable ; the change I make is very small and provides *muneḥ* with an epithet, which comparison with the other verses shows the author to have been unlikely to omit.

यस्या जन्मनि दीनदीनमतयः प्रापुः शुचं तीर्थैकाः
सोत्कर्म च विशेषवर्धितधियो बौद्धा धृतिं ज्ञेभिरे ।

यामासाद्य गुणाः प्रयान्ति विततिं दोषा व्रजन्ति क्षयं
सा गण्डी कलिकालकित्विषहरा भूयाद्भवामृतये ॥ २७ ॥

Var. *b*, हर्षविशेष°, C H (two syllables short), for T see note. *d*, भूयाद्भवद्भूतये,
H ; *rtag-tu...srid-pa-rnams-kyi* (भवानां सदा) T.

27. At the gong's birth the heretics grieved in deep dejection, and the Buddhists with their minds exalted by its excellences were moved to great joy. In contact with it the virtues are extended and the vices annihilated. May it redound to the cessation of being by sweeping away the guilt of this evil age !

In *b* T shows *viśeṣavardhitadhiyo* to be the complete compound ; the first word is an adverb represented by *rab-tu-ḥphel* (lit. *pravṛddham*) and C justifies my reconstruction. A conjunction or a relative is required ; hence *ca*. Jacobi's *āryā harṣaviśeṣa°* and Professor Thomas's *harṣotkarṣaviśeṣa°* do not agree with the Tibetan and fail to join the line to the preceding one. T takes *dhṛti* (*spro-ba*) to mean 'joy' ; otherwise 'satisfaction' or 'stability of mind' would have been better. In *d* T's reading is inferior and H's amendment of C unnecessary.

यां नत्वा विधिवद्विशुद्धमतयो गच्छन्ति तुङ्गां गतिं
यस्याः क्षिप्रतरं प्रयान्ति विवशाः सर्वे विपक्षाः क्षयम् ।
ध्वस्तव्यस्तसमस्तमोहपटला सा धर्मगण्डी मुनेः
संभूयाद्भवभाविसाध्वतभिदे युष्माकमायुष्मताम् ॥ २८ ॥

Var. *c*, *ḥkhrug* (? *ḥkhrul*) *lon gli-mug rab-rib...ḥjoms-gyur-cig* (ध्वस्तप्रान्ति समुत्थमोहतिमिरा), T.

28. By doing due obeisance to the gong of the Sage's Law the pure in heart attain the higher spheres, while all its adversaries go speedily and helplessly to perdition. It dissipates the masses of delusion, whether scattered or congregated. May it lead your worships to the suppression in the future of fears of existence !

श्रुत्वा यां पतिता महीतलमलं ब्रह्मादयः स्वर्गवः
कम्पन्ते धरणीधराः क्षितिरेपि क्षिप्रं गता क्षमातलम् ।
तीर्थ्यानां भयकारिणी परहितप्रारम्भशुद्धात्मनां
बौद्धानामुपशान्तये सपदि सा संताप्यतां गण्डिका ॥ २९ ॥

29. On hearing the gong, Brahman and the other dwellers in the heavens fall straightway to the earth, the mountains quake and even the earth recedes speedily to the nether realm. Sound it instantly to strike fear into the heretics and to bring peace to the Buddhists whose souls are purified by endeavours for others' good.

In *a* H reads *mahīṭalamalam* as one word, following a suggestion of Prof. Lüders ; this is surely untranslatable. T has *mahīṭalam* followed by a word meaning 'quickly' ; that is, one should transliterate C *alam*, known to the lexicographers in this sense. But alliteration requires *alam*. Though not recorded in this sense, it would fit admirably passages such as *Meghadūta*, 53, or *Śakuntalā*, vii, 34 (where the parallel sentence has *samprati* to correspond) in place of the usual rendering, 'thoroughly,' 'completely.' In *b* T takes *ṭalam* in *ksmāṭalam* to mean 'beneath' ; alternatively the word is intended as a synonym of *rasātala*, showing the author to know the meaning of *rasā* as 'earth,' which is late.

KASHMIRI PROVERBS.

BY PANDIT ANAND KOUL, ŚRĪNAGAR, KASHMĪR.

Preface.

PROVERBS convey useful lessons of prudence and morality. They magnify the delights of virtue as well as paint in dark colours the consequences of evil. Their phraseology shows the impress of the mint of wisdom of immemorial antiquity. In short, they are "sense, shortness and salt," as quaintly defined by Howell.

The Kāshmiri is extremely fond of saws pragmatic and maxims sage. His language perhaps contains a greater number of them than that of any other Oriental. They mirror not merely his external conduct, daily life and environment, but also the disposition of his mind. In 1885, a large collection of proverbs and sayings, current in Kashmir, was made by the Rev. J. Hinton Knowles, which he explained from the rich and interesting folklore of the valley. He afterwards published them in the form of a book, which is very interesting, equally to the philologist, the ethnologist and the antiquarian. But there remained some proverbs which the Rev. Mr. Knowles could not find at the time of writing his book. These I have collected, and now publish with translations in English.

It is gratifying to note that these precious fruits of ancient wisdom, which by mere oral transmission and currency were being gradually lost, or were changing their complexion with the tide of time, are now being committed to print, and thus placed on permanent record.

Achiv khuta chi kuṭhi dūr.

The knees are farther than the eyes. (Blood is thicker than water.)

Ak duḍa biyi māji kyut tok.

An uninvited guest, and he wants a plateful [of food] for his mother [in addition to feeding himself]! (Brazenness.)

Ak hammāmi ta byāk damāmi.

One is the servant of the hot-bath and the other is the assistant for heating it. (Conspiracy.)

Ākhun sâhib chu tsâṭan hanzay tsuci bâgrân.

The school-master distributes the bread of the pupils. (E.g., the king spends what the people pay him in taxes, he having nothing of his own.)

Alâl-khânan na koj ; parzanēn mimyuz.

To one's own dear children breakfast is not given; [but] to the strangers [besides breakfast] tiffin is served. (I.e., a person most niggardly towards his own kith and kin, but entertaining strangers sumptuously.)

Attri-wāna chu mushkay lārân.

Khāra-wāna chē tēmbarey lārân.

From a perfumer's shop one gets a pleasant scent,
From a blacksmith's shop one gets embers. (Cultivation of the society of good people will make you good. He who plays with the cat must expect a scratching.)

Baḍ kani chē lukacēv kanēv satī rūzīt hēkân.

A big stone is kept firm by smaller stones. (E.g., a man of position must have subordinates to assist him).

Bhaṭṭa taryon kadala ta gāḍi dāryos ās.

A *paṇḍit* was passing over a bridge and a fish opened its mouth [to swallow him].
(*Paṇḍits* are generally weak physically because they do not take to manual labour,
but devote themselves much to study.)

Bīb kamālas ta mīr mazāras.

When the wife is grown up, the husband is in the grave. (An unequal marriage.)

Boni muḥul tārun.

To pierce a *chinār* with a pestle. (An impossible thing.)

Brāri sāleh.

Pious as a cat. (I.e., a hypocrite.)

Buhuri-bāyi hund kan hyū zethān.

Stretching out like the ear of the apothecary's wife.

(To go beyond the limit. An apothecary's wife is thought foppish: she wears
heavy ear ornaments, and her ears are stretched downwards by their weight.)

Cāy tani yā gani magar tats gatshi cēni.

Tea, whether weak or strong, should be taken hot.

Chaniy phar ta gontshan war.

Empty boast and twisted moustaches. (Smart clothes and empty pockets. The
loudest hummer is not the honey-bee.)

Dab lagus ta phēran phutūs.

Having tumbled down his garment got broken.

Dāli Bhaṭṭa ta Khoja thūl.

Dāl for a *Paṇḍit* and an egg for a *Khoja* (i.e., the kind of food they like).

Gora sanzi kotshi sori na zāh.

The *guru's* bag will never get exhausted. (Priests are ever prosperous, receiving
charity on all occasions, both happy and sad.)

Grahna kāndur.

A baker during an eclipse. (A sorry figure.)

"*Gur dītā paha.*" "*Nīla chuy.*" "*Nilay dītā.*" "*Hīla chuy.*"

"Lend me thy horse." "It is cream-coloured." "Give me the cream-coloured."

"It is a pretence."

Hānṭhi wāli dōd ta gānṭhi wāli thūl.

He is capable of causing milk to flow from a barren woman's breast and of fetching
down eggs from a kite's nest. (An adventurer.)

Hāri zyūn ta Māghi dhāni.

Firewood in *Hār* (June-July), and paddy in *Māgh* (January-February). (I.e., these
things should be purchased in those months, because wood is dry in June-July,
and paddy of better quality is obtainable in January-February, the cultivator
having disposed of all grain of bad quality before then, as it is human nature to
sell bad things first.)

Hēli pēṭhuk shaḡdar.

The guard just at the time the crop has begun earing. (Said of a person who takes no pains to earn money for himself, but feeds on others' earnings. Warming his hands in other peoples' sunshine.)

Kakawanay chē kani shrapān.

Partridges alone can digest a stone. (A strong person has a good appetite.)

Kāh gov doyanas kahi dohi chōk.

Hash chēm zām chēm kyā chum sukk ?

Eleven cows are milked, after eleven days I get a little milk ;

I have got a mother-in-law [and] sister-in-law : what peace have I got ?
(Mothers-in-law and sisters-in-law are notorious for ill-treatment of their daughters-in-law.)

Kālidāsa chu panani vizi wunān.

Kālidāsa falls into error in his own case. (I.e., a wise person sometimes makes a bad mistake.)

Kālidāsa, who was at the court of King Bhoja of Mālvā about the end of the tenth century A.D., is said to have gone to Ceylon to see the king of that island, named Kumāradāsa. This king was a good poet and had sent a copy of his own poem *Jānaki-harana* as a present to King Bhoja. This poetic work pleased Kālidāsa very much, and he became anxious to make the personal acquaintance of the author. He went to Ceylon and there he was staying in an old woman's house. King Kumāradāsa used to pay frequent visits to Mātara, and when he was there he always stayed in a certain beautiful house. During one of these visits he wrote two lines of unfinished poetry on the wall of the room where he had lived. Under it he wrote that the person who could finish this piece of poetry satisfactorily would receive a high reward from the king. Kālidāsa happened to see these lines when he came to this house in Mātara, and he wrote two lines of beautiful poetry under the unfinished lines of the king. He was in hope that his friend, king Kumāradāsa, would be well pleased with this and would recognize his friend's poetry. But the unfortunate poet had not the pleasure of getting either reward or praise from the king, because the authorship of the lines was claimed by a woman in the same house, who had seen Kālidāsa writing them. She secretly murdered Kālidāsa and claimed the reward, stating that the lines were her own. But nobody would believe that the woman could have written such poetry, which could have only been the work of a real poet. The king, when he saw the lines, said that nobody but his friend Kālidāsa would be able to understand him so well and to complete in such an excellent way the poetry which he (the king) had written, and he asked where Kālidāsa was, so that he might hand over to him the promised reward. Nobody knew where he was. At last search was made everywhere and, to the great sorrow of every one, his body, which had been hidden, was found. One can hardly imagine how sad King Kumāradāsa was when he heard that Kālidāsa had been murdered, for he had loved him much both as poet and as friend. A very grand funeral pyre was erected, and the king lit the pyre with his own hands. When he saw the body of his dear friend consumed by the flames, he lost his senses altogether through his great grief and, to the horror of all the people assembled, he threw himself on the funeral pyre and was burnt with his friend (see page 147 of *Stories from the History of Ceylon* by Mrs. Higgins).

Kāvas ta kani myul karun.

To make the crow and the stone join together. (Said of an unexpected occurrence.)

Kāl, kâtsur, machitēcal,

Dushmaney paighambar and.

The dark-brown complexioned, the brown-haired, and the freckled
Are the enemies of the prophet (i.e., are found to be wicked).

Khēv, chēv ranga-tsari ;

Anz lug wāla-bari.

The cinnamon tree-sparrow ate [and] drank ;

[But] the grey goose was caught in the trap. (An innocent person caught instead
of the real offender.)

Kulas chē krit.

A high class person has to discharge obligations. (*Noblesse oblige.*)

Lēmbi phulmut pamposh.

A lotus bloomed out of the silt. (A beautiful child born of ugly parents.)

Lori hathā loyī ta marday drāk.

A hundred blows with a rod were dealt to thee, and thou provedst to be a brave
fellow. (To flatter a person after having once quarrelled with him.)

Lūk kami lāsuv ta budh kami mor ?

Who would think that the young might live and the aged might die ? (Death is no
respector of age.)

Magghi mo gatsh māgasey.

Do not go even to a feast during the *Māgha nakṣatra*. *Note.*—The *Māgha nakṣatra*
(10th mansion of the moon) is considered inauspicious by the Hindus for going
on a journey.

Māji bhatta.

Food served by mother. (The best food.)

Makkāy waṭ dīshit chu sawār guri petha wuthmut.

On seeing a cob of maize corn the rider has descended from his horse (the corn
being so tempting).

Muma, kon, saḍān pānay put-mahārāza.

Muma, the one-eyed, burns within himself to be the vice-bridegroom [but he can-
not be chosen for this]. (Said of a vainglorious person.)

Natsaha āngun chum tsot ;

Gēvaha gēv khyom brāri.

I would dance [but] the courtyard is small ;

I would sing—the cat ate my *ghī*. (Idle excuses.)

Matshan dud ta monēn chak.

Milk in the breast and splashing it against the walls. (Prodigality ; waste.)

Nav kath navan dohan.

A new matter for nine days. (A nine days' wonder.)

Nāv chum Lasi,

Yasi wātsas na tasi.

Lasi is my name,

To whomsoever I did not attend, he is displeased. (One cannot please everybody.)

Nidyāris chī dugani dyār.

A penniless person has to spend double. (I.e., he borrows, paying high interest, and he purchases the necessities of life in small quantities, which costs him more.)

Qālib lari bunyul.

An earthquake to a *pakka* house (it cracks it). (A great calamity.)

Parbatas dhāni bhawun.

Growth of rice on [the top of a rocky or arid] hill. (An impossibility.)

Pénji chamb.

A platform [proved to be like] a precipice.

Rātuk lāyun gomo khām :

Lol ho ām, lol ho ām.

Yesterday's thrashing was not sufficient :

Love has seized me, love has seized me. (Cited when a person, with whom one has quarrelled, seeks reconciliation.)

Sera wāwa khuta chu dera wāw.

Want of house is worse than want of food.

Shāwl kanil ta shāli hēt.

After the sale of a shawl and the purchase of *śāli* rice [one regrets, as the value of the former increases as it gets older, and better quality of the latter can be got by waiting a little longer].

Sēh kas be-pīr andar mulk-i-Kashmīr—

Wali-Haḍ o Hari-Bahādur, Sukha-Pīr :

Sēh kas dīgar zabūn tar and zānhān—

Yikey Ārgāmī, duwum Bhairau, siwum Bhān.

There were three cruel men in the country of Kashmīr—

Wali-Haḍ and Hari-Bahādur (and) Sukha-Pīr :

There are three greater devils than these—

First Ārgāmī, second Bhairau, third Bhān. (Beggars are a great nuisance in Kashmīr, and these three are cited as the greatest extortioners.)

Shurēv shri=doh sūriyo :

Vāntsaka dhaka chēva Shri-Pāntsam

O children ! holidays are over :

To satisfy your desires there is the Śrī Pañcamī (5th of the dark fortnight of *Vaiśākha*, the last Hindu holiday of the year).

Shuri chu khormut un wanas ta kon brannas.

The child has made a blind man go to the forest and a one-eyed person climb a *brann* (elm tree) (A child cannot be appeased until his curiosity is satisfied.)

Tālawā pēyi nā tangā !

Would that a pear might fall down from the ceiling ! (A vain hope.)

Tāli tsāl.

Crown of the head pressed down. (I.e., in depressed circumstances).

Thēkzi na hovari-ghari,

Yēti kulay wād kari.

Do not boast in [your] father-in-law's house,

Where [your] wife will question [your] veracity. (I.e., one cannot boast before a person who knows all about one.)

Tar-bāza sanzi zēvi ta rāza sandis khizānas chu na ant.

There is no limit to the tongue of a braggart or to the Rāja's treasury.

Tsētr, Vahēk surtho putro ?

Did you put by, O son, for *Caitra* (March-April) and *Vaisākha* (April-May) ? (One should put something by for 'rainy days.')

Usa Ju gas chuy lor.

Hala ju, wothar'am.

"O Usmān Ju, filth is sticking to thee."

"Halloo, Sir, wipe it away, please." (Said of a lazy fellow.)

Uttara bunyul.

The earthquake of Uttar. (A great upheaval or commotion.)

Vetāla, wanay titāla hana, kava goham tsakhey ?

Osus na hēkân pānay pakit, phakal khortham nakhey !

O Vetāl ! I shall say to thee a humble word—"Why didst thou become wrathful ?" I was not able to walk ; thou hast placed a stinky fellow on my shoulders to be carried ! (Cited when one is overburdened with some other person's work.)

Wufawani guri ta naba tang ratani.

To catch flying horses and pears from the sky. (Vain adventures ; attempting to accomplish the impossible.)

Wani khānas khātir pānas.

Wani Khān has his own likings. (Said of an obstinate and selfish person.)

Yēli iwān kāla ghattā, na rozān zatā na pattā.

When a black storm comes, there remains neither a rag nor a blanket. (I.e., everything vanishes on the approach of the days of adversity.)

Yātay na pakān, nātay takān.

He would not even walk [now] on the contrary, he would run. (Said of inconsistency.)

Zana Mut ta Isma'il

Zanārdan and Ismā'il. (Said of one who amasses wealth for a particular person. Zanārdan lived sixty years ago. He used to beg for a disciple of his named Ismā'il, to whom, he said, he owed one lakh of rupees and to whom he had so far repaid only one cowrie.)

MISCELLANEA

INDIA AND THE EAST IN CURRENT LITERATURE.

India in 1930-31, Government Press, Calcutta, 1932.—Attention may be directed to the reference, on p. 84, to the survey of prehistoric sites in the hilly region west of the Indus in the Larkana and Karachi districts, resulting in the discovery of chalcolithic remains at no less than 24 places. These sites, we are told, seem to lie in a regular chain leading from Pandi Wahi near Johi to a place within 7 miles of Karachi, on the way to Las Bela. Trial excavations at many of them have disclosed a fairly large collection of painted pottery, cherts, beads, copper implements and other characteristic relics. The ruins from which the antiquities were recovered were those of stone buildings situated on the hills or in adjoining valleys, where there is often a perennial supply of water from natural springs. The importance of these discoveries, when compared with the results of Sir A. Stein's trial excavations further west, in Gedrosia, towards the elucidation of the so-called Indus civilisation will be obvious to our readers.

Annual Bibliography of Indian Archaeology for the Year 1930.—In this volume, which maintains the high standard of previous years, the number of items referenced has increased to 929, from 731 in 1929. The introduction contains a survey of the results of the important excavations conducted by Mr. A. H. Longhurst at Nāgārjunikonda in the Guntur district, a description of the Sittanavāsāl cave temple paintings in the Pudukotta State, notes on excavations at Đông-s'ôn (Annam) by M. Goloubew, and on the discovery of a pre-Angkor monument near Angkor Thom by M. Coedès. An interesting summary is also given of Dr. Bosch's researches in connexion with the scenes depicted on the Barabudur panels, which have shown that the *Gaṇḍavyūha* was the principal text used. Dr. Vogel is to be warmly congratulated on the progress made with this publication, and on having secured a promise of co-operation from Japan.

Nāgarīpracārīnī Patrikā, vol. XIII, Pts. 1 and 2, 1932.—The first two parts of this volume contain matter to which the attention of our readers may be drawn with advantage. On pp. 1-6 Mr. K. P. Jayaswal publishes a short but suggestive paper

on "The Bhāraśiva Dynasty," in which he emphasises the pre-eminent part played by this dynasty and that of the Vākātakas in re-establishing Hindu political and religious authority in northern India. "The Vākātakas were the gurus of the Guptas, and the Bhāraśivas the gurus of the Vākātakas," he writes. The place from which the Vākātakas took their title has hitherto been uncertain, but Mr. Jayaswal identifies it with a site, known locally now as Bāgāt, about 6 miles from Chirgānūv in the Orchā State. He thinks the Bhāraśivas probably started about 200 A.D., and held sway over Prayāga and Kāśī and the intervening territory in the Gangetic basin. He goes so far as to suggest that the Daśaśvamedha Ghāt at Benares may preserve a memory of the ten *śvamedhas* attributed to these rulers.

In a paper entitled "An unknown Kṣatriya-vaṃśa called Gaur," Rai Bahadur MM. G. H. Ojhā brings to light a very interesting inscription of 17 lines in Brāhmī characters and Sanskrit language on a slab in the temple to Bhamar Mātā on a small hill near Choṭī Sādārī village in the Udaipur State, in which is recorded a succession of chiefs of the Gaura-vaṃśa of Kṣatriyas, who appear to have ruled in this vicinity in the sixth century A.D. The Mahāmahopādhyāya goes on to suggest that the Gorā Bādāl of Chitor fame were not two persons, as hitherto supposed, but one individual, whose personal name was Bādāl, Gorā being the equivalent of Gaura, indicating his *vaṃśa*. In another short paper MM. G. H. Ojhā propounds his reasons for thinking the Sindhala-dvīpa referred to in Jāyasi's story of *Padmāvat* was not meant for Ceylon, but for a place called Siṅgoli, some 40 miles east of Chitor, the possessor of which may have been Padmini's father.

Mr. Gorelāla Tiwārī continues his useful history of Bundelkhaṇḍ, reaching in this volume the times of the great Mahārāja Chatrasāl, a chief worthy of far more attention than he has hitherto received at the hands of historians. We welcome also the appearance of 29 well-printed plates illustrating the article by Mr. V. Agravāla on "The Buddhist Art of Mathurā," which form a notable addition to the journal.

C. E. A. W. O.

THE ADVAITA VEDĀNTA IN THE SEVENTH CENTURY.

By PROF. DASHARATHA SHARMA, M.A.

It is generally believed that a dualistic interpretation of the Vedānta philosophy held the field in the eighth century, when Śaṅkara wrote his great commentary on the *Vedānta Sūtras*, and that his teacher Govinda's teacher, Gauḍapāda, was the first man to interconnect the ideas of Māyā and Brahman. The main reasons for reaching these conclusions are that Gauḍapāda is the only Ācārya of the Advaita Vedānta named by Śaṅkara, that 'Śaṅkara himself makes the confession that the absolutist creed was recovered from the Vedas by Gauḍapāda,' that throughout his commentary on the *Brahma Sūtras* Śaṅkara contends against some other rival interpretations of a dual tendency, and that Rāmānuja refers not only to one or two, but many Ācāryas of the Viśiṣṭādvaita school. But that this theory, with all the plausible arguments in its favour, is still open to considerable doubt and perhaps rejection, will be shown by the two references, especially the second, that I give below from the *Harṣacarita*, a work written at least a hundred years before the birth of Śaṅkara.

On page 632 of Jivānanda Vidyāsāgara's edition of the book, we find an excellent description of the philosophical sects flourishing in the seventh century, which, besides mentioning the Bhāgavatas, the Kāpilas, the Jains, the Lokāyatikas, the Kāṇādas, the Paurāṇikas, the Aisvar Kāraṇikas or the Naiyāyikas, the Kārandhamins or the Dhātuvādins, the Saptatāntavas or the Mīmāṃsakas, the Śābdas or the Vaiyākaraṇas, and the Bauddhas, speaks of the Pāñcarātrikas and the Aupaniṣadas. As the Pāñcarātrikas, whose system is generally regarded as the main basis of Viśiṣṭādvaita, are clearly distinguished herein from the Aupaniṣadas, should we not be justified in regarding the latter as the interpreters of the Upaniṣads in the absolutist sense ?

The second reference which occurs on page 399 of the same edition of the book is much more to the point, and so clearly worded that it can bear no two interpretations. Moreover, the context itself, the consolation of Harṣa on the death of his father, is highly significant, and makes the meaning a little clearer than it would otherwise be.

The passage in question runs as follows :—

‘देवमपि हर्ष तदवस्थं पितृशोकविह्वलीकृतं.....
पितृपितामहपरिग्रहागताधिरन्तनाः, कुलपुत्रा, वंशक्रमा-
हितगौरवाश्च, ग्राह्यगिरौ गुरवः, श्रुतिस्मृतीतिहासविचारदाश्च
जरद् द्विजातयः, श्रुताभिजनशालिनो मूर्खाभिषिक्ताश्च-
मात्या राजानो, यथावदधिगतात्मतत्वाश्च संस्तुता मस्क-
रिणः, समदुःखसुखाश्च मुनयः, संसारासारत्वकथनकु-
शलादिनः, श्लोकपनयननिपुणाश्च पौराणिकाः पर्यवारयन् ।’¹

The Brahmovādins mentioned herein can, of course, be only the Vedāntins of the Advaita school, for the dualists could have nothing to say by way of consolation on the death of a person. Moreover, even if this line of argument be not regarded as conclusive, the tell-tale adjective संसारासारत्वकथनकु-
शल would leave no doubt as to the exact nature of these Brahmovādins. The expression संसारासार-
त्वकथन signifies that these Brahmovādins (who, it might be noted, are the only Brahmovādins mentioned by Bāṇa) must have gone about preaching like Gauḍapāda that all existence is unreal, that all this duality is Māyā, that Brahman is the only real. The word कुशल ending the compound qualifying the noun Brahmovādin is almost as characteristic ; it shows that संसारासारत्व was not a mere unsubstantiated postulate, but a well-thought-out theory which the Brahmovādins of the seventh century could prove by the use of strong arguments and cogent reasoning.

BOOK-NOTICES.

AN ACCOUNT OF TIBET : THE TRAVELS OF IPPOLITO DESIDERI OF PISTOIA, S.J., 1712-1727. Edited by Filippo De Filippi, with an Introduction by C. WESSELS, S.J. 8½×5½ in.; pp. xviii+475; 17 plates and a map. London, Routledge & Sons, 1932.

Although the manuscript of the Italian Jesuit missionary Ippolito Desideri was rediscovered in Pistoia as long ago as 1875, a fact which was announced

at the time by Sir C. Markham (and the Hakluyt Society tried to obtain it), it was not until 29 years later that extracts from it were published by Prof. Puini, in the Memoirs of the Italian Geographical Society; and even then it escaped notice in other countries, as it was not published as a continuous narrative, but only in extracts arranged as appendices to Puini's own description of Tibet. The present translation gives the narrative in its

¹ Translation :—

Nobly born old men who had been in the royal household for the last two generations; elderly relatives who enjoyed consideration on account of family succession and whose words demanded attention; old Brāhmanas versed in *Śruti*, *Smṛti* and *Itihāsa*; ministers conversant with the Vedas and nobly descended, consecrated princes; approved ascetics, well-trained in the doctrines of the self; sages, indifferent to pleasure and pain; Brahmovādins, skilled in expounding the nothingness of the world; and Paurāṇikas, expert in allaying sorrow surrounded Harṣa, who being distressed by the death of his father, was in that condition.

complete form, for which Sir F. De Filippi has spent many years of labour in collating three other MSS. of the narrative that subsequently came to light in Florence, Rome and the Jesuit archives. It is the most complete account of Lhasa and Central Tibet written until the present century, as it is much fuller than those of Huc and Gabet.

Desideri started on his journey to Tibet in 1715, accompanied by Fr. Freyre, going to Leh, where the Jesuits had a mission. He was fortunate in meeting with the widow of a Tartar general, who was returning with his troops to Lhasa and who allowed him and his companion to travel in her company; and in this way they proceeded by the Tsang-po valley to Lhasa, from where Fr. Freyre returned to India by the direct route on account of ill-health. Desideri remained in Tibet for five years, during which he spent his time in studying the Tibetan language and religion with the object of writing in Tibetan a refutation of the Lamaist doctrines, especially the belief in transmigration and rebirth, and a defence of the Catholic religion. He obtained the favour and protection of the Eleuth Tartar ruler at that time, La-tsang, whom he calls Ghengiz Khan, who gave him permission to preach and to reside in the Sera monastery, where he was given special facilities for study. His narrative gives a detailed and most interesting account of the country, the people, the administration and social customs, as well as of the Lamaist religion. In regard to the last, it is curious, as Sir F. De Filippi remarks, that although Desideri knew that the Lamaist religion had come originally from India, he did not know it was derived directly from Buddhism. Buddhism is never mentioned, nor even Buddha, whom he only knew under the Tibetan name, Shakya-Thub-pa. It is, however, from his description of Lhasa and of the people that his account derives its chief interest and value. When Desideri arrived in Lhasa the 6th Dalai Lama had been recently deposed and murdered by the Tartar ruler, and a Lama chosen by him, but not recognised by the monks or the people, had been installed. In consequence of this, a revolution broke out in 1717, of which Desideri gives a full account. La-tsang was killed, and Desideri had to escape to Tak-po, where he spent most of his time till 1721, when he returned to India, as the Catholic mission to Tibet was then transferred from the Jesuits and made over to the Capuchins. Desideri returned to India through Nepal, of which he gives a short account containing many interesting particulars.

The Introduction by Fr. Wessels gives the history of the Jesuit missions to Tibet, in Leh and Ladak, from 1625 up to Desideri's time. Sir F. De Filippi has added full and scholarly notes which extend to 56 pages, on all points requiring explanation or bringing up to date. The book is well illustrated. There is a general bibliography and a special bibliography of Desideri's MSS., a general index, an

index of Tibetan words which occur in the text, and a map showing Desideri's route.

Sir F. De Filippi has rendered a great service in editing this most interesting account of Tibet in the eighteenth century and making it available in English.

E. H. C. WALSH.

DIE GESETZE DER WELTGESCHICHTE. INDIEN.

By Hartmut Piper. 9½×6½ in.; pp. xvi+232.

Th. Weicher, Leipzig. 1931. RM. 6.00.

This book is one of a series written by the author to set out a new science invented by him, called *Völkerbiologie*, the biology of nations, which consists apparently in taking each country as a unit and dividing the history of its civilisation into periods, each of which is compared to the growth and decay of an individual. Indian history is divided into three such periods. There is nothing new in treating a community as an individual organism; here the novelty lies in a refusal to recognise the limitations of the analogy. Even if it were not impossible to treat Indian civilisation as a single unit over considerable periods of time, the author hopelessly misinterprets the trend of events in the critical ages from the epoch of the Brāhmanas to that of the Gupta dynasty, and in dealing with modern times shows himself as prejudiced as any of the critics he pillories. His method is to compare every single phenomenon to some phenomenon in some other country, and we are offered such absurdities as the likening of the *Mudrārākṣasa* to Antony and Cleopatra and of the *Harṣacarita* to *Simplificissimus*. Yaśovarman of Kanauj is the Indian Napoleon, and those semi-mythical figures, Kapila and Āsuri, are the Indian Socrates and Aristotle. This is enough to give an idea of the quality of this production.

E. H. JOHNSTON.

PANORAMIC INDIA, 64 Panoramic Photographs, by W. R. WALLACE, with Introduction and Notes by K. H. Vakil. 18×13 inches. Bombay, D. B. Taraporevala, Sons & Co. 1931.

In this album we find a series of panoramic views of sites from the Khaibar Pass and the Himālayan hill stations in the north to Madura in the far south of India. For the photographs, which are of outstanding merit from the technical and artistic points of view, and the way in which they have been reproduced in Dresden there can be nothing but praise. All are good, and the views of Udaipur, in particular, are gems of photography. The subjects selected for natural beauty, and for historical and architectural interest are appropriate and fairly representative, though we could have wished perhaps to find views of famous sites like the Śatrunjaya hill in Kāthiāwār, Māndūgarh, Bodh Gayā, Vijayanagara, etc. The letterpress, however, does not come up to the standard of the illustrations. A number of typographical and other errors are noticeable. For instance, the height of Kinchinjunga is not 17,000, but over

28,000 feet ; if the height of the Tāj Mahal to the top of the pinnacle were only 217 feet, it would not exceed the Qutb Minār in height ; and it would be more correct to call Pushkalāvati, rather than Peshawar (Purushapura), the ancient capital of Gandhāra.

C. E. A. W. O.

BIBLIOGRAPHIE VÉDIQUE. By LOUIS RENOU. 10½ × 7 in. ; pp. v + 339. Adrien-Maisonneuve, Paris. 1931. Francs 100.

M. Renou's previous works had suggested that he had a special gift for bibliography, and the book under review gives complete proof of this. The term Vedic has been given its fullest extension so as to cover all the Upaniṣads that matter and, so far as I can see, there are no omissions, at any rate as regards works published in Europe and America. The arrangement under 200 separate headings and the index of authors make it easy to find out what has been written on any point, while attention should also be drawn to the useful index of those Sanskrit words which have been the subject of special papers. The only mistake I can discover is trivial, namely, that in the index of authors different writers of the same name are not always kept apart. The book has been produced by photolithography, which enables it to be sold at a relatively low price and for once in a way that much abused word, 'indispensable,' may be applied to it without objection ; for no Sanskrit scholar can afford not to possess it.

E. H. JOHNSTON.

THE KADAMBA KULA, by G. M. MORAES, M.A., with a preface by Rev. H. HERAS, S.J. Pp. xxiv + 504, with 40 plates and 4 sketch-maps. B. X. Furtado and Sons, Bombay, 1931.

From about 550 to 1200 A.D., the history of Peninsular India is clearly defined by the vicissitudes of the Chālukyan Empire. Of the fore-runners of that Empire less is known, and it is to one of these precursor dynasties that Mr. Moraes invites attention. The founder of the Kadamba kingdom was, it appears, a Brahman who had received his education in Conjeeveram, under the Pallavas, and perhaps in c. 345 A.D., revolted against them. He, or one of his successors (it is not quite clear when), established the dynastic capital at Banavāsi, an ancient city in N. Kanara district close to the Mysore border. Politically the dynasty appears as an outpost of Gupta influence against Pallava aggression. With the decline of the Guptas decay set in, and the Kadambas were finally overthrown by their quondam feudatories, the Chālukyas, in about 610 A.D.

For nearly 350 years (not 250 as Mr. Moraes has it) the Kadambas vanished from history : their territory was ruled by others. Then, in about 973, with the overthrow of the Rāṣṭrakūṭas and the revival of Chālukyan supremacy

in the Western Deccan, a number of feudatory principalities arose claiming to be of Kadamba lineage. This Kadamba tradition survived the fall of the Chālukyas and persisted, rather vaguely till the rise of Vijayanagar.

To piece together the disjointed fragments of Kadamba history requires courage and imagination, and Mr. Moraes is to be congratulated on the results achieved. The subject is important, for, geographically, the Kadambas in their time held a key position in the struggles for hegemony that have devastated the Deccan since the dawn of history. Of this aspect Mr. Moraes is fully conscious, and his narrative faithfully registers the political pulsations of S. India. Some of his material is new and includes the texts and translations of 23 hitherto unpublished inscriptions (which unfortunately are not annotated) and a number of facts observed by him in the course of a tour in the Kadamba country. Much of his evidence comes from the Portuguese territory of Goa, an almost unknown country to earlier writers, and of vital importance to the proper understanding of Deccan history. His dynastic narrative is supplemented with short chapters on religion, administration, trade, literature and other items of "internal history," and as for architecture, the Kadambas, he claims, had a style of their own from which the well-known "Chālukyan" style was evolved. His treatment of Kadamba geography is less adequate ; the numerous administrative divisions of the Kanarese country, so familiar in the inscriptions, need more detailed study than they have yet received, and their correlation with the physical features of the terrain has still to be worked out. Appendices on coins and on the adoption by the Kadambas of the lion emblem, complete the survey.

Mr. Moraes' reconstruction of Kadamba history is inevitably to a great extent conjectural, but his inferences are by no means wild. Of special interest is his identification of the puzzling "Triparvata" of the inscriptions, the headquarters of the southern viceroyalty of the Kadambas, with Halēbid, the site of the later capital of the Hoyselas, a suggestion which has recently been confirmed in greater detail by Father Heras, in the *Karnatak Historical Review*. Occasionally he trips, as on p. 152, where he cites under Malli-deva (1217-52 A.D.) an inscription dated 1143 A.D. which he has already dealt with in its proper place under Mallikārjuna (1132-46 A.D.) on p. 134. Such a mistake could hardly have occurred if the author had drawn up a table of inscriptions arranged chronologically. Such a list, in a work of this kind, is almost a necessity. Apart from this, the book is a most important contribution to the early history of the Deccan, and its value is enhanced by copious and well-chosen illustrations.

F. J. R.

ON ANCIENT TRACKS PAST THE PÂMÎRS.*

BY SIR AUREL STEIN, K.C.I.E.

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If we look at the map it might well seem as if the mighty elevation of the Pâmîrs, with the high, rugged, meridional range forming its eastern rim, and with the vast drainageless basin of the Târim beyond it, had been intended by nature far more to serve as a barrier between the lands where flourished the great civilizations of ancient Asia, than to facilitate intercourse between them. Yet historical records which have come down to us both in the East and West show that through this remote belt of innermost Asia there led routes which for many centuries formed important channels for trade, travel and political enterprise between China on the one side and Iran and the Hellenized portion of Western Asia on the other.

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In my paper *Innermost Asia : its Geography as a factor in History*,¹ I have fully explained the reasons which obliged the Chinese Empire, when, under the great Han Emperor Wu-ti in the last quarter of the second century B.C., it sought direct trade access to the civilized countries of the West, to secure it 'through-control' of the Târim basin. Situated between the high mountain ranges of the T'ien-shan in the north and the K'un-lun and Karakoram in the south, this great basin offered distinct advantages for the 'peaceful penetration' aimed at. The great mountain ramparts protected it from the dangers of the nomadic migrations and invasions. The strings of oases fringing the huge central desert of the Taklamakân in the north and south would permit caravan traffic to pass over ground where it was comparatively easy to protect it. To the south of the basin the utter barrenness of the high Tibetan plateaux makes such traffic physically impossible. In the north beyond the T'ien-shan all routes from the side of China were exposed to attack by great nomadic tribes, like those of the Huns, Turks and Mongols.

In the west the Oxus basin with its great fertile territories of ancient Bactria and Sogdiana has always provided emporia for trade exchange. Bukhâra and Samarkand have retained this character down to modern times, and so did Balkh, the ancient capital of Bactria, until Chingiz Khân's Mongol invasion brought there devastation from which the land, the present Afghân Turkistân, has never fully recovered. Bactria lay nearest both to India and Persia, and through the latter led the ancient trade-routes both to the Mediterranean and the Persian Gulf. These brief remarks will suffice to explain why the ancient routes to be described here had their main western terminus on Bactrian ground to the south of the middle Oxus.

It was chiefly the trade in silk which made direct access to the Oxus basin so important for China. Before and for centuries after the beginning of the Christian era, the production of silk was a jealously-guarded monopoly of China and its profitable export to the 'Western Regions' was a great factor in the economic policy of the Empire. It is to this silk trade that we owe the early classical notice of the route followed by the caravans which proceeded from the Oxus to the land of the 'silk-weaving Seres,' or China. It is to the northern of the two main routes with which we are concerned that the notice refers which Ptolemy, the geographer, has fortunately preserved for us from the account of a Macedonian trader whose agents had actually travelled along it. It led from Bactria, the present Balkh, past the northern rim of the Pâmîrs along the Alai valley, and thence down to Kâshgar.

* Reprinted (with the omission of a few paragraphs) from *The Himalayan Journal*, vol. IV, 1932, with the kind permission of the author and of the Editor of that journal. The sketch-map illustrating Sir Aurel's paper was prepared by the Editor, H.J.

¹ See *Geographical Journal*, 1925, pp. 377-403, 473-98.

But before tracing its line it will be convenient to deal first with the other great natural thoroughfare which in the south leads up to the main headwaters of the Oxus. For this route lies close to the Hindukush and the passes by which valleys on the Indian side can be gained. Another reason is that our records about the early use of this route are more ample. In this case, too, we may start from the west, and thus keep company with those early travellers who have left us the fullest account of this southern route.

Only the briefest reference need be made here to the ground over which the valley of the uppermost Oxus separating the Hindukush from the Pâmirs is approached. A look at the map will suffice to show that the easiest and most direct approach to it from the side of Balkh and the rest of Afghân Turkistân must always have led through the fertile main portion of Badakhshân, formed by the valley of the Kokcha, or Vardoj river. Badakhshân, a territory favoured by its climate and provided with plenty of arable ground in its valleys and rich grazing-grounds on its mountains, formed part of ancient Bactria which, after its conquest in the first century B.C. by the Tokhari, a branch of the Indo-Scythians or Great Yüeh-chi, was known as Tokharistân down to the early Middle Ages.

It is under the Chinese transliteration of the name, *Tu-huo-lo*, that Hsüan-tsang, the great Chinese Buddhist pilgrim, mentions the several petty chiefships, including Badakhshân, through which he passed on his way back from India in A.D. 642 towards the Târim basin and China. The description which Hsüan-tsang gives in his famous 'Memoirs of the Western Countries'² of the territory next entered to the east leaves no doubt about its being identical with the present Wakhân. This comprises the valley of the Âb-i-Panja, or uppermost Oxus, right up from the river's sharp northward bend to its sources on the Afghân Pâmirs. Hsüan-tsang makes no exact reference to the route by which he entered the territory. But considering the configuration of the ground this could be no other than the one still regularly used which leads from Zebak in the uppermost Vardoj valley across an easy saddle into the village tract of Ishkâshm close to the bend of the Oxus.

More than a century before Hsüan-tsang's passage the route through Wakhân had been followed in A.D. 519 by two other Chinese pilgrims, Sung Yün and Hui-shêng, on their way from China with an Imperial mission to the Hephthalite or White Hun ruler of Kâbul, and the north-west of India. Their narrative shows that, after reaching the uppermost Vardoj valley above Zebak, they made their way across the Hindukush, probably by the Mandal pass into the Bâshgol valley of Kâfiristân, and thence down to Swât and the Peshawar valley.³ It is similarly from the head of the Vardoj valley that Chitrâl is reached across the Dôrâh pass. This route provides the most direct and easiest approach to Indian territory from the side of Badakhshân and the Russian territories on the right bank of the Oxus.

Sung Yün and Hui-shêng's narratives agree in quite correctly describing Wakhân, or *Po-ho* as they transcribe its name, as a country "extremely cold; caves are dug out for quarters. As winds and snow are intense men and beasts huddle together. On the southern border of this kingdom there are great snowy mountains [i.e., the Hindukush]; the snow melts on them in the morning and freezes again at night. From afar they look like peaks of Jade." How closely this description corresponds to characteristic features still observed in Wakhân is shown by the accounts of modern travellers.⁴

² See the translations in Julien, *Mémoires sur les contrées occidentales*, i, pp. 201 sqq.; Watters, *On Yuan Chwang's Travels*, ii, pp. 279 sqq.

³ Sung Yün's route has been fully discussed by me in *Serindia*, i, pp. 9 sqq.

⁴ Cf. Wood, *Journey to the Source of the Oxus*, 2nd ed., pp. 208 sqq.; Gordon, *The Roof of the World*, pp. 133 sq.; Stein, *Innmost Asia*, ii, 865 sqq.; also, Schultz, *Forschungen in Pamir*, pp. 139 sqq.; Olufsen, *In the Unknown Pamir*, passim.

The importance of Wakhân for traffic towards the Târim basin lies in the fact that it provides a line of communication unbroken by any serious natural obstacle for a distance of close on 200 miles right up to the watershed towards the drainage area of the Târim. Though the valley of the Oxus is narrow at its bottom it is singularly free from defiles except at the upper end of the sub-division of Ishkâshm in the west and again above Sarhad, at present its highest village eastwards. Those two defiles, too, are short and practicable at all seasons for laden animals. Limited as the agricultural resources must always have been, yet the food supplies of Wakhân, supplemented by the flocks for which the side valleys afford ample grazing, are likely to have been always sufficient to meet the needs of traders and travellers following the route along the valley.

Permanent habitations are to be found on it now up to Sarhad and in earlier times existed also for two marches further up, as far as Langar.⁵ Thus shelter was assured all along for those using the route, an important consideration in view of the elevation at which the inhabited portion of the valley lies (from about 8,000 feet at Ishkâshm to 10,500 feet at Sarhad) and the rigours of the climate during the greater part of the year. For the conditions of life and cultivation in Wakhân I must refer to the modern accounts already quoted.⁶ The present population of Wakhân, divided since the Anglo-Russian Boundary Commission of 1895 into a Russian portion on the right and an Afghân portion on the left bank of the Âb-i-Panja, can scarcely much exceed a total of about 5,000 souls. But that it must have been considerably greater in pre-Muhammadan times is proved by the number and extent of the ancient strongholds I was able to survey on my passage down the main portion of the valley in 1915.⁷

Hsüan-tsang's description of Wakhân, which the Imperial Annals of the T'ang dynasty reproduce with some additions about its history,⁸ brings out clearly the great length of the territory in contrast to the narrowness of the habitable ground. It mentions wheat and pulse as the main crops; the hardness of the local ponies; the icy winds. The dependence of the territory on the Tukhâra country, i.e., Badakhshân, which has continued to modern times, is duly referred to. Of the people we are told that they were "of a violent and coarse disposition." The pilgrim's observation: "for the most part they have greenish-blue eyes and thereby differ from other people" is completely borne out by the physical character of the present Wakhis. They have preserved the *Homo Alpinus* type of the Galchas or 'hillmen' of the Oxus region in remarkable purity, and blue or light-grey eyes and fair hair are very common among them.⁹

Hsüan-tsang mentions ten Buddhist convents, each with a small number of monks, and refers to the capital of the territory by a name (Hun-t'o-to). This clearly places it at the present Khandut, situated on the left bank of the river and with its 50—60 homesteads, the largest village of Wakhân. It is the track leading along the left bank which travellers on their way through Wakhân are likely to have ordinarily followed; for by keeping to it, those coming from or proceeding to the Pâmirs could avoid crossing the Âb-i-Panja at any point lower than Langar-kisht, whence, after its junction with the stream from the Great Pâmîr, its bed becomes more confined and deeper.

⁵ See *Serindia*, i, p. 70.

⁶ See above, note 7.

⁷ For accounts of the fortresses of Zamr-i-âtish-parast and Namadgut, cf. in particular *Innermost Asia*, ii, pp. 866 sqq., 872 sqq.

⁸ For an analysis of these records, see *Innermost Asia*, i, pp. 61 sqq. The Annals duly note *Hu-mi* as the Chinese name of Wakhân, by the side of the name *Ta-mo-hsi-t'ie-ti* of Hsüan-tsang which still awaits explanation.

⁹ For an analysis of the anthropometrical records secured by me, cf. Mr. T. A. Joyce's Appendix C in *Innermost Asia*, ii, pp. 993 sqq.

After Hsüan-tsang's journey more than six centuries pass before we meet again with a traveller's account of Wakhân. We owe it to Marco Polo, the greatest of medieval travellers, who about 1272-3 followed this route on his way to the Pâmirs and thence to Khotan and China. "In leaving Badashan," so the great Venetian's immortal narrative tells us, "you ride twelve days between east and north-east, ascending a river that runs through land belonging to a brother of the Prince of Badashan, and containing a good many towns and villages and scattered habitations. The people are Muhammadans and valiant in war. At the end of those twelve days you come to a province of no great size, extending, indeed, no more than three days' journey in any direction, and this is called *Vokhan*. The people worship Mahomet, and they have a peculiar language. They are gallant soldiers, and they have a chief called *None*, which is as much as to say *Count*, and they are liegemen of the Prince of Badashan."¹⁰

It has been long ago recognized by Sir Henry Yule that "the river along which Marco travels from Badakhshân is no doubt the upper stream of the Oxus, known locally as the Panja . . . It is true that the river is reached from Badakhshân proper by ascending another river (the Vardoj) and crossing the Pass of Ishkâshm, but in the brief style of our narrative we must expect such condensation." For the twelve days' journey which the Venetian records between Badakhshân and 'Vokhan' it is easy to account, I believe, by assuming that here, as in similar cases, the distance from capital to capital is meant; for the distance from Bahârak, the old Badakhshân capital on the Vardoj, to Kala Panja, the seat of the old chiefs of Wakhân and nowadays of the administration on the Afghân side of the river, is still reckoned at twelve marches. Marco Polo was right, too, in his reference to the peculiar language of Wakhân; for while Persian is spoken in Badakhshân, the Wakhi, spoken by the people of Wakhân, is a distinct language belonging to the Galcha branch of Eastern Iranian. The small size ascribed to the province of 'Vokhan,' "extending no more than three days' journey in any direction," is still more readily understood if the portion of the valley about Ishkâshm together with Zebak formed then, as it had done down to recent times, a separate small chiefship. It may in Marco Polo's time have been ruled over by a 'brother of the Prince of Badashan'.¹¹

Before following Hsüan-tsang and Marco Polo further to the Great Pâmîr, across which their journey led, it will be convenient to trace the route to the source of the Oxus and thence across the Wakhjîr pass down the Tâghdum-bâsh Pâmîr to Sarîkol. We have no old traveller's account describing this route, but it offers distinct advantages for caravan traffic and is regularly followed nowadays by traders proceeding from Chinese Turkistân to Chitrâl, or to Badakhshân. From Sarhad upwards I got to know it in 1906 on my second expedition and beyond the Wakhjîr pass I have become familiar with it on no less than four journeys. The Tâghdum-bâsh Pâmîr forms now the only approach by which travellers from India crossing the Hindukush can gain the Târim basin without touching either Afghân or Russian ground. In the same way the Tâghdum-bâsh together with the Afghân portion of the Âb-i-Panja valley has served, ever since the Pâmîr Boundary Commission's work in 1895, as a buffer between the territories of British India and Russia.

From Langar-kisht, where a Russian post guards the junction of the Âb-i-Panja with that of the Great Pâmîr branch of the river, two easy marches past a succession of small settlements bring the traveller to the group of hamlets collectively known as Sarhad on the right bank of the river. Together with detached holdings on the opposite side they form at present the highest place of permanent occupation on the Âb-i-Panja. Sarhad is a point of some strategic importance, for opposite to it there debouches the open valley which leads

¹⁰ Cf. Yule, *The Book of Ser Marco Polo*, 3rd edition, i, pp. 170 sqq.

¹¹ Cf. *Inncrmmost Asia*, i, p. 65.

at a distance of only some eight miles up to the broad saddle known as the Dasht-i-Barôghil. Lying at an elevation of only about 12,500 feet this easy saddle, which could readily be made practicable for wheeled vehicles, forms the lowest depression on the whole Hindukush range as far west as the passes north of Kâbul. From the head of the Yârkhun, or Mastûj river, on the south side of the Barôghil, routes lead down the river to Chitrâl or directly southwards across the glacier pass of the Darkôt into the valley of Yâsin, and thus through Gilgit to the Indus.

The importance of this low crossing of the Hindukush was illustrated by an interesting historical event. In *Serindia* and in a separate paper¹² I have had occasion fully to discuss the remarkable expedition by which Kao Hsien-chih, 'Deputy Protector of the Four Garrisons,' commanding the Chinese troops in the Târim basin, in A.D. 747 led a force of 10,000 men from Kâshgar across the Pâmirs to the Oxus. The object was to oust the Tibetans who had joined hands there with the Arabs in Tokhâristân and in alliance with them were threatening the Chinese hold on the Târim basin. There is no need to set forth here the details of the great exploit by which the Chinese general, in the face of formidable physical obstacles, brought his troops across the inhospitable Pâmirs and then, after signally defeating the Tibetans where they barred his approach from the Âb-i-Panja to the Barôghil, led a portion of his victorious force across the glacier pass of the Darkôt (c. 15,400 feet above sea-level) down into Yâsin and Gilgit. It was an achievement fully equal to, if not greater than, the great alpine feats of commanders famous in European history.

Between Sarhad and the stage of Langar the valley contracts into a succession of defiles difficult for laden animals in the spring, when the winter route along the river bed is closed by the flood water, while impracticable soft snow still covers the high summer-track. All the same the route is never entirely closed here. Before reaching Langar I noticed marks of former cultivation in several places of the right bank, a point of some importance as proving that even here at an elevation of close on 12,000 feet travellers could at one time expect to find shelter. The remaining journey to the foot of the Wakhjir pass could readily be done in two marches lading over alluvial plateaux or along the wide river-bank, all easy ground used by Kirghiz camps for grazing.

At Bozai-gumbaz, where we found a number of Kirghiz in their felt huts, the route across the wide Little Pâmîr joins in. From here I visited Lake Chakmaktin, near which lies, at a height of a little over 13,000 feet, the almost imperceptible watershed between the Âb-i-Panja and the Ak-su or Murghâb, the other chief feeder of the Oxus. For nearly fifty miles the view extended unbroken over this perfectly open elevated valley to where the eye rested in the distance on the range, at the time still snow-covered, which overlooks the Tagharma plain of Sarîkol.

It is across the Little Pâmîr that Tâsh-kurghân can be gained by a route leading over the Naiza-tâsh pass, about 14,900 feet high. This is described as practicable at all seasons. But the distance to be covered on ground at a great elevation and without habitations is longer than on the route across the Wakhjir and down the Tâghdum-bâsh Pâmîr. Since Russian territory has to be crossed between the Little Pâmîr and the Naiza-tâsh pass this route is now no longer followed by traders. Other passes further north are more convenient for smugglers carrying opium from the Badakhshân side.

The track to the Wakhjir pass branches off to the north-east from where the stream fed by a series of large glaciers to the south-east debouches into the head of the open valley. Higher up, at an elevation of about 14,700 feet, this stream forms the true source of the Oxus,

¹² See *Serindia*, i, pp. 52 sqq., 66 sqq.; *Geographical Journal*, 1922, February, pp. 112-131.

as first clearly recognized by Lord Curzon. The ascent to the pass is not steep, as may be seen in the photographs taken by me,¹³ and the descent on the Tāghdum-bāsh side, which I examined on the 2nd July 1900, is still easier.

But while on that occasion the whole of the pass was clear of snow, it was only after great exertions on the 27th May 1906, that the watershed at an elevation of about 16,200 could be gained by us. The difficulty of getting our baggage across, first on yaks and then by load-carrying Wakhīs,¹⁴ was due solely to the soft condition of the snow. There had been an exceptionally heavy snow-fall all over the Pāmirs that winter. As long as the snow remains hard the pass can be crossed with laden ponies, even in the spring, and it is certainly open to such traffic all through the rest of the year. Judging from what I saw of it in 1900 it would be practicable, too, for Kirghiz camels accustomed to the mountains.

Once across the Wakhjir the journey down the Tāghdum-bāsh Pāmīr is easy and can well be covered in five marches.¹⁵ Much of the first three of them lies past large ancient moraines, which show the extent of the huge ice-stream which in a former glacial period descended the wide valley. At Kōk-tōrōk there joins in from the south the route which leads across the main Muz-tāgh range from the side of Hunza by the Kilik pass (*circ.* 15,800 feet). On the north the Tāghdum-bāsh Pāmīr can be gained by the Kōk-tōrōk pass from the side of the Little Pāmīr. Some 23 miles lower down there debouches the valley leading up to the Ming-taka pass, which offers an alternative route towards Hunza and is regularly used for the British Consular post from Kāshgar to India. At Payik, where there, is a small Chinese Customs post, a well-known route is passed leading across to the Ak-su or Murghāb on the Russian side.

Some seven miles further down, the valley makes a marked turn to the north and there near Koshun-kōr, at an elevation of about 12,600 feet, cultivation has been carried on until recent recent years by Wakhī settlers. The point deserves to be noted; for, together with what I have recorded above about former cultivation near Langar, it shows that for travellers from Sarikol to Wakhān following the Wakhjir route the distance where neither permanent habitations nor local supplies could be found was reduced about five or six marches. It was an important consideration in favour of this old route, now again coming steadily into increased use by traders from the Yārkand side.

Only about three miles further down, there rise the ruins of an ancient stronghold, known as Kiz-kurghān, 'the Maiden's fort,' on the top of a high and very steep rocky spur above the river's left bank. I have shown its identity with the place of which Hsüan-tsang relates a curious local legend how a Chinese princess on her way to be wedded to the king of Persia was detained there while the roads were blocked through war. Visited there by the sun god she became enceinte, and from her the royal family of Sarikol claimed descent.¹⁶

Six miles down the valley we reach the fairly large village of Dafdār, with fields of wheat and barley extending for some miles down the right bank. Scattered patches of cultivation are to be met also on the two short marches leading down to Tāsh-kurghān, the chief place of Sarikol. That the once tilled area on this side of the valley must have been far more extensive in olden times is conclusively proved by the remains of an ancient canal, known as 'Farhād's canal,' still clearly traceable from above Dafdār for a distance of over forty miles. It is also certain that the population of Sarikol was greatly reduced in modern times in consequence of frequent raids of those plucky hillmen of Hunza whose depredations only ceased after the Pax Britannica was extended to Hunza in 1891.

¹³ See *Ruins of Desert Cathay*, i. Fig. 29; *Mountain Panoramas of the Pamirs and Kwenlun*, R. Geographical Society, Panor. VII.

¹⁴ Cf. *Desert Cathay*, i, pp. 83 sqq.

¹⁵ For a description of the valley cf. *Sand-buried Ruins of Khotan*, pp. 59 sqq.

¹⁶ Cf. *Serindia*, i, pp. 72 sqq.

There can be no doubt that Tâsh-kurghân marks the position of the ancient capital of Sarikol. With its rubble-built homesteads it clusters round a small plateau above the left bank of the river, occupied by the modern Chinese fort and the ruins of a small walled town. The territory is duly described by Hsüan-tsang under the name of *Chieh p'an-t'o* and is often mentioned in the Chinese Annals of T'ang times as well as by other travellers.¹⁷ Modest as the resources of Sarikol must always have been—for here, at an elevation of about 10,000 feet, the local saying holds that there are ten months of winter and two of summer—yet this 'post of the Ts'ung-ling mountains' has always been a welcome place of rest for caravans and individual travellers. Thus we know from the scanty narrative left of Benedict Goëz, the observant lay Jesuit, who passed here in 1603 on his way from India and Kâbul in search of fabled Cathay, that he and his large *qâfila* of merchants from Badakhshân took a rest in the 'province of Sarcil,' i.e., Sarikol. In the looks of the scanty inhabitants of its hamlets he duly noted a resemblance to Flemings. Among the Sarikolis, who are of the *Homo Alpinus* stock of the Galchas and who speak a language closely akin to that of Shughnân, blue eyes and fair hair are common enough.

Before I proceed to indicate the several routes through the meridional range to the east by which the plains of the Târîm basin are gained from Sarikol, we must return once more to the uppermost Âb-i-Panja and the ancient route which leads from there across the Great Pâmîr to Sarikol. With it are associated the memories of those two great travellers, Hsüan-tsang and Marco Polo. The route starts from Langar-kisht where the Âb-i-Panja is joined by the river draining the Great Pâmîr lake, and ascends to the latter, just as Marco Polo tells us, in three marches north-eastwards. His description of the lake which Captain John Wood, who re-discovered it on his memorable journey of 1838, has named after Queen Victoria, is so accurate and graphic that I may well quote it in full¹⁸.....

Hsüan-tsang, too, has left us a graphic account of the 'valley of Po-mi-lo' and its 'great Dragon Lake' which he passed on his way from Wakhân to Sarikol.¹⁹ "It is situated among the snowy mountains. On this account the climate is cold, and the winds blow constantly. The snow falls in summer and spring time . . . In the middle of the valley is a great Dragon Lake." As I looked across the deep-blue waters of the lake to where in the east they seemed to fade away on the horizon I thought it quite worthy to figure in the old traditional belief which the Chinese pilgrim's narrative reflects, as the legendary central lake from which the greatest rivers of Asia were supposed to take their rise. The clearness, fresh taste and dark-blue colour of the lake are just as he describes them. It is the same with the masses of aquatic birds swarming about the lake in the spring and autumn, and with their eggs being found in plenty on its shores. Nor can it surprise us that the imagination of old travellers passing this great sheet of water at such a height and so far away from human habitations credited it with great depth and with hiding in it 'all kinds of aquatic monsters such as Hsüan-tsang was told of.

There can be no doubt about Hsüan-tsang having travelled across the Great Pâmîr to Tâsh-kurghân. "On leaving the midst of this valley and going south-east, along the route, there are neither men nor villages. Ascending the mountains, traversing the sides of precipices, encountering nothing but ice and snow, and thus going 500 *li*, we arrive at the kingdom of Chien-p'an-t'o." The direction and distance indicated, corresponding roughly to five daily marches, make it appear very probable that the route followed by him was the one leading to the course of the Ak-su river and thence across the Naiza-tâsh pass.

¹⁷ For an analysis of these Chinese and other early records of Sarikol, cf. *Ancient Khotan*, i, pp. 27 sqq.

¹⁸ For the quotation, see Yule, *Marco Polo*, i, p. 171.

¹⁹ Cf. Julien, *Mémoires des contrées occidentales*, ii, pp. 207 sqq.; Watters, *Yuan Chwang*, ii, pp. 282 q. *Innermost Asia*, ii, pp. 858 sqq.

It is more difficult to make sure of the exact route followed by Marco Polo's party from Lake Victoria to the 'kingdom of Cascar'; for no exact indication is furnished for this part of the journey. From the fact that it took the travellers forty days through a wilderness without habitations it might be conjectured that they kept to the Pâmirs north-eastward and then descended through the gorges of the Gez river to the plain south-west of Kâshgar.

Leaving aside the Great Pâmîr and the Alai in the north which, as we shall see, served the silk trade-route, there are two more valleys which traverse the area of the Pâmîrs from east to west draining into the Oxus. But only one of these can ever have been used throughout as a line of communication. It is the route of the Alichur Pâmîr leading past the Yeshil-köl lake and beyond its western extremity continued by the valley of the Ghûnd river in Shughnân. Along it leads the modern cart-road which connects the Russian fort of 'Pamirski Post' with the headquarters of the Russian 'Pamir Division' at Khôrok on the Oxus.

That this route has seen traffic olden times is proved by what I have had already occasion to mention about Kao Hsien-chi's memorable expedition of A.D. 747. When he led his main force from the 'post of the Ts'ung-ling mountains' down to Shughnân he could not well have followed any other route but this. The same applies also to the itineraries, unfortunately very laconic, of two Buddhist pilgrims.²⁰ One of them, Dharmachandra, an Indian monk, wishing to return from China to his home land, travelled A.D. 747 from Kâshgar to the kingdom of 'Shih-ni,' i.e., Shughnân, only to be forced by the disturbed condition of the region to retrace his steps to the Târîm basin where he died. The other pilgrim, Wu-k'ung, passed through Shughnân, both on his way to India from Kâshgar in A.D. 752 and on his return thence to China about 786. On his way out we are told that he reached 'the five Shih-ni' across the Ts'ungling or 'Onion Mountains' and the valley of Po-mi (Pâmîr), i.e., from the side of Sarîkol.

It was by this route along the Alichur Pâmîr that the Khôjas of Kâshgar, fleeing before the Chinese who had reconquered the Târîm basin, endeavoured to reach Shughnân in 1759. By the eastern end of the Yeshil-köl they were overtaken by the pursuing troops and most of their followers killed in the fight. On my passage here in July, 1915, from the Sârêz Pâmîr I still saw at Sümetâsh the large stone pedestal of the inscription which had been set up by the Chinese in commemoration of their victory, the inscription having been removed by the Russians to the Museum at Tâshkend. It was close to the same spot that another tragedy took place in June, 1892, when Colonel Yonoff's Cossacks on the way to annex Shughnân wiped out the small Afghân detachment which bravely held out to the last in a post guarding the route.

The valley of the Ak-su or Murghâb which lies to the north and contains the Sârêz Pâmîr could never have served as a line of communication; for from where the valley passes into the mountain territory of Rôshân it turns into a succession of very narrow gorges in which such tracks as exist are extremely difficult even for men on foot and quite impracticable for animals. In ascending in August, 1915, from Saunâb on the Rôshân side, I found no water where the bed of the Murghâb had lain; for the great earthquake of February, 1911, had completely blocked the valley higher up by enormous masses of rock brought down in a landslide, and had converted a great portion of the former Sârêz Pâmîr into a big winding lake.

We must now turn back to Sarîkol in order to sketch briefly the several routes by which thence the great western oases of the Târîm basin can be gained. The shortest and most natural would lie along the course of the river coming from the Tâghdum-bâsh and draining Sarîkol. But this soon after breaking through the meridional range in a sharp bend below

²⁰ For references to these itineraries, cf. *Innermost Asia*, II, p. 880.

Tâsh-kurghân, passes for a great distance, down to its junction with the Zarafshân or Yârkand river, through an almost continuous succession of deep-cut gorges very difficult even on foot and quite impracticable for laden transport, except during the short period of the winter while the river is hard frozen and its ice can be used as a passage. Already early in June 1906, before the summer flood from the melting glaciers and snow beds had come down, my experienced travel companion, Surveyor Rai Râm Singh, of the Survey of India, an excellent mountaineer, found it very difficult to make his way down as far as the point where the stream of the Tangi-tar valley joins the river from the north. But it was then still possible for me for a shorter distance to follow the river with laden transport down to the mouth of the Shindî defile, and then, by ascending this to its head on the Chichiklik plateau, to avoid the much steeper ascent to this over the Kôk-moinak pass above Tagharma.

Over the Chichiklik plateau leads the regular caravan route to Sarîkol both from Kâshgar and Yârkand, and here we find ourselves on ground for which interesting old accounts are available. The plateau known as the Chichiklik Maidân, lying at an elevation from about 14,500 to 14,800 feet, is situated between two great mountain spurs radiating southward from the Muz-tâgh-atâ massif. Its position is such that it must be passed by all travelling from Sarîkol to the south of that great glacier-clad massif towards Yârkand and Kâshgar, by whichever of the several passes they may traverse the more easterly of those spurs. The Chichiklik Maidân, owing to its great height and still more to its position exposed to bitter winds and heavy snowfall, is very trying ground for travellers at most seasons of the year. And to the troubles here often encountered by travellers we owe the interesting accounts which Hsüan-tsang and Benedict Goëz have left us of their experiences on the Chichiklik plateau at an interval of nearly a thousand years.

The narrative of the great Chinese pilgrim tells us that starting from the capital of Chieh-p'an-t'o, i.e., Tâsh-kurghân, he reached an ancient hospice after travelling for two hundred *li* (or two daily marches) across "mountains and along precipices."²¹ The distance and the bearing alone would suffice to indicate that the two marches leading from the Tâghdumbâsh river up the Dershat gorge to the Chichiklik Maidân are meant. The position of the hospice is described as a level space of about a thousand Chinese acres "in the midst of the four mountains belonging to the eastern chain of the Ts'ung-ling mountains."

"In this region, both during summer and winter, there fall down piles of snow; the cold winds and icy storms rage. The ground, impregnated with salt, produces no crops; there are no trees and nothing but wretched herbs. Even at the time of the great heat the wind and snow continue. Scarcely have travellers entered this area when they find themselves surrounded by vapours and clouds. Merchant caravans, in coming and going, suffer severely in these difficult and dangerous spots." According to an 'old story' Hsüan-tsang heard, a great troop of merchants, with thousands of followers and camels, had once perished here by wind and snow. A saintly person of Chieh-p'an-t'o was said to have collected all the precious objects left behind by the doomed caravan, and with their help to have constructed on the spot a hospice, providing it with ample stores, and to have made pious endowments in neighbouring territories for the benefit of travellers.

On my first passage across the Chichiklik, on the 4th June 1906, I was able to locate the old hospice to which Hsüan-tsang's story relates and which probably he saw already in ruins.²² At the head of the Shindî valley, through which my approach then lay—on my third and fourth expeditions I reached the Chichiklik Maidân by the very troublesome ascent in the Dershat gorge—there extends an almost level plain, about two and a half miles from north

²¹ For translations of the narrative, see Julien, *Mémoires*, ii, p. 215; Watters, *Yuan Chwang*, ii, p. 285; also Beal, *Sî-yü-ki*, ii, p. 303.

²² Cf. *Scrinia*, i, p. 77 sq.

to south, and over a mile across. Ridges rising about 2000—3000 feet higher, and then still under snow, enclose it on all sides except to the north-east, where a broad gap gives access over a scarcely perceptible watershed to the head of the Tangi-tar valley. On a small knoll in the centre of the plateau I discovered the foundations of a square enclosure, solidly built and manifestly of early date. The plan of quarters within showed it clearly to have served as a sarai for wayfarers. The spot is held sacred in Muhammadan eyes, decayed graves within the enclosure attesting here, as so often elsewhere in Chinese Turkistân, 'continuity of local worship' since Buddhist times.

From the Chichiklik plateau three different tracks lead to the valley drained by the Tangi-tar river. Two of them lie across the easterly mountain spur by the Yangi-dawân and Yambulak passes respectively. But these passes imply a considerable ascent and are liable to become closed by snow early in the autumn. Hence the usual route leads across the previously mentioned gap into the Tarbâshi valley, which is frequented by Kirghiz as a grazing-ground, and thence descends in an extremely confined gorge, appropriately known as *Tangi-tar*, to the river of the same name. The passage of this gorge is distinctly difficult for laden animals and in places dangerous for the baggage, as for about two miles deep pools of tossing water and big slippery boulders have to be negotiated between high and precipitous cliffs.²³ The gorge is altogether impassable during the summer months, when the flood from the melting snows fills its bottom, and traffic is then diverted to the two passes of Yangi-dawân and Yambulak. In spite of an unusually late spring I found the passage of the Tangi-tar gorge already very troublesome on the 5th June 1906.

An adventure recorded in Hsüan-tsang's biography proves that it was the track down this gorge which he followed when on his way towards Yangi-hisâr and Kâshgar.²⁴ We are told there how the 'Master of the Law' on the fifth day from the capital of Chieh-p'an-t'o (Sarikol) "encountered a troop of robbers. The traders accompanying him were seized with fear and clambered up the sides of the mountains. Several elephants, obstinately pursued, fell into the water and perished. After the robbers had been passed, Hsüan-tsang slowly advanced with the traders, descended the heights to the east and, braving a rigorous cold, continued his journey amidst a thousand dangers. After having thus covered 800 *li*, he passed out of the Ts'ung-ling mountains and arrived in the kingdom of Wu-sha [Yangi-hisâr and Yârkand]."

The time occupied in the journey from Tâsh-kurgân, and the exceptional facilities offered by the Tangi-tar gorge for such an attack, clearly point to its scene having lain there. In the late autumn, the time of Hsüan-tsang's passage, no other stream on the route could have held sufficient water to be dangerous to elephants, except that of Tangi-tar, which retains deep pools of water even in the winter. The eight hundred *li*, or eight marches, are a quite correct reckoning for the journey of a caravan from the gorge to Yangi-hisâr. There can be no doubt about Hsüan-tsang having done it by the regular route across the Tor-art pass to Chihil-gumbaz, where the road to Yârkand branches off, and thence across the loess-covered spur of Kashka-su into the valley debouching into the plains above Ighizyâr.

When I struggled across the bleak plateau of Chichiklik, still snow-covered early in June 1906, and again in a snow-storm on the 28th September 1930, I felt duly impressed by the recollection of the trials which Benedict Goëz, the brave Jesuit, had experienced here on his journey to Yârkand in the late autumn of 1603.²⁵ After crossing the Pâmirs—by

²³ For a description, see *Ruins of Desert Cathay*, i, pp. 99 sq.; also *Serindia*, i, Fig. 29.

²⁴ See Julien, *Histoire de la vie de Hiouen-Tsang*, pp. 274 sq.; Beal, *Life of Hiuen Tsiang*, p. 200.

²⁵ For Sir Henry Yule's translation of Goëz' record, put together by Ricci from such notes as could be recovered after the devoted Portuguese lay brother 'seeking Cathay had found Heaven' at Su-chou, see Yule, *Cathay and the Way Thither*, 2nd ed., iv, pp. 214-215.

what exact route we do not know—he and the large *qâfila* of merchants to which he had attached himself had at the hamlets of the ‘province of Sarcil,’ i.e., Sarikol, “halted two days to rest the horses. And then in two days more they reached the foot of the mountain called *Ciecialith* [Chichiklik]. It was covered deep with snow, and during the ascent many were frozen to death and our brother barely escaped, for they were altogether six days in the snow here. At last they reached *Tanghetar* [Tangi-tar], a place belonging to the kingdom of Cascar [Kâshgar]. Here Isaac the Armenian fell off the bank of the great river into the water, and lay, as it were, dead for some eight hours till Benedict’s exertions at last brought him to. In fifteen days more they reached the town of *Iaconich* [Yaka-arik], and the roads were so bad that six of our brother’s horses died of fatigue. After five days more our Benedict going on by himself in advance reached the capital which is called *Hiarchan* [Yârkand].”

It is clear that the route followed by Goëz was identical with the present main caravan track which, after descending the Tangi-tar gorge and crossing the Tor-art, as already referred to, diverges at Chihil-gumbaz towards Yârkand. The accident which befell his faithful companion, Isaac the Armenian, obviously took place at one of the deep pools of Tangi-tar.

There still remains to be briefly mentioned the route which from Sarikol leads northward past the meridional range of Muz-tâgh-atâ and Kungur and then, turning the flank of the latter in the deep-cut gorges of Gez, follows the narrow valley of the Yamân-yâr down to Tâshmalik and thence across the fertile plain to Kâshgar. This route offers splendid views of the huge ice-crowned peaks of the range along the foot of which it passes from above Tagharma, and has often been followed by modern travellers.²⁶ After crossing the easy saddle of Ulûgh-rabât it leads over open Pâmîr-like ground past the lakes of Little Karakul and Bulun-kul as far as Tar-bâshi, where the tortuous gorges of Gez are entered.²⁷

Whether it is owing to the difficult passage offered by the latter and the total absence of grazing there and for several marches lower down or owing to some other reason, this route to Kâshgar is not ordinarily followed by caravans, and I know of no early account of it. It has, however, been conjectured, not altogether without reason, that Marco Polo may have travelled at least over the lower part of it, after leaving the Great Pâmîr. He tells: “Now if we go on with our journey towards the east-north-east, we travel a good forty days, continually passing over mountains and hills, or through valleys, and crossing many rivers and tracts of wilderness. And in all this way you find neither habitation of man, nor any green thing, but must carry with you whatever you require.”²⁸ The absence of any reference to the inhabited tract of Sarikol might suggest that, for some reason we shall never know, the Venetian traveller’s caravan, after leaving the Great Pâmîr, moved down the Ak-su river and then, crossing the watershed eastwards by one of the several available passes, struck the route leading past the Muz-tâgh-atâ massif and on towards the Gez defile. The duration of forty days counted for such a journey is certainly much in excess of what an ordinary traveller would need. But it must be remembered that Goëz, too, speaks of the ‘desert of *Pamech*’ (Pâmîr) taking forty days to cross if the snow was extensive.²⁹

I have had to leave to the last the tracing of that route leading past the Pâmîrs of which the earliest record has come down to us. I mean the ancient trade route skirting the Pâmîrs on the north by which the ‘silk of Seres’ was carried from China to the Oxus basin. The notice has been preserved for us in the ‘Geography’ of Ptolemy, who wrote about the middle of the second century A.D. Short as it is, it claims considerable interest, be it only on the

²⁶ For a description of it, see Stein, *Sand-buried Ruins of Khotan*, pp. 76-105.

²⁷ *Sand-buried Ruins of Khotan*, pp. 108 sqq.

²⁸ See Yule, *Marco Polo*, 3rd edition, i, pp. 171 sqq.; Prof. H. Cordier’s notes, *ibid.*, i, pp. 175, 782; also Stein, *Ancient Khotan*, i, pp. 41 sq.

²⁹ Cf. Yule, *Cathay and the Way Thither*, 2nd ed., iv, p. 217 (n. 1).

ground of its being the only Western notice of the channel through which passed in classical times the most important of the trade links between the Far East and the Mediterranean regions. This record has accordingly been much discussed by scholars even before there was adequate knowledge available of the ground through which the route led.

The notice is contained in an introductory chapter where Ptolemy takes occasion learnedly to discuss statements advanced by the geographer Marinus as to the length of the inhabited world.³⁰ With regard to a certain measurement as to the distances between Hierapolis on the Euphrates and 'Sêra the metropolis of the Sêres,' i.e., of the Chinese, Marinus is quoted as having stated that "one Maës, a Macedonian, called also Titianus, who was a merchant by hereditary profession, had written a book giving the measurement in question which he had obtained not by visiting the Sêres in person, but from the agents whom he had sent there." Marinus is known to have flourished about the close of the first century A.D., and the record of Maës, a merchant probably from one of the Macedonian colonies established in Syria or Mesopotamia, being approximately contemporary, belongs to the period of the Later Han dynasty, when the silk trade flourished and was favoured by Chinese control of the Târim basin.

Marinus' account of the route followed by Maës' agents shows it to have passed through Mesopotamia, north-western Persia and the present Transcaspia to 'Antiochia of Margiana' or Merv, and so on to Bactria, the present Balkh, "whence it turns towards the north in ascending the mountainous tract of the Kômêdoi. And then in passing through this mountainous tract it pursues a southern course as far as the ravine which adjoins the plain country." Subsequently, after referring to certain assumptions as regards bearings on sections of the route and to detours made by it, Ptolemy quotes Marinus as saying: "The traveller having ascended the ravine arrives at the Stone Tower, after which the mountains that trend to the east unite with Imaus, the range that runs up to the north from Palimbothra." Another passage of Ptolemy, derived from Marinus, places the station or Sarai 'whence traders start on their journey to Sêra' to the east of the Stone Tower and in the axis of Mount Imaus itself.³¹

It is the merit of Baron Richthofen, the great geographer, and of Sir Henry Yule to have clearly demonstrated that the route followed by Maës' agents must have led up the Alai and on to Kâshgar,³² and that by the 'mountains of the Kômêdoi' is meant the long-stretched Kara-têgin tract in the main valley of which the Kizil-su or Surkh-âb (the 'Red River') draining the Alai makes its way to the Oxus east of Balkh. This location is definitely proved by the name *Kumêdh*, which early Arab geographers apply to Kara-têgin and the position which Hsüan-tsang indicates for the territory of *Chü-mi-t'o*, this being the Chinese transcription of a similar form of the name.

In the summer and early autumn of 1915 Fate in the shape of the alliance with Imperial Russia gave me the long and eagerly wished-for chance of following in person the greater part of this ancient 'silk route' from the Alai down to the submontane plain of the Hisâr region, then under the Amîr of Bukhâra. Fourteen years before, on returning from my first Central-Asian expedition, I had been able to see the eastern portion of the route from Kâshgar right up to the western extremity of the Alai where it passes under the flank of Mount Imaus, i.e., the great meridional range forming the eastern rim of the Pâmîrs. I am thus able to speak with some personal knowledge of the ground over which the route passed between Kâshgar and Hisâr.

³⁰ Cf. Ptolemy, *Geographia*, I, Chap. xi; for a translation, see McCrindle, *Ancient India as described by Ptolemy*, pp. 8 sqq.

³¹ See Ptolemy, *Geographia*, VI, [Chap. xiii; McCrindle, loc. cit., p. 284.

³² For references to Richthofen's and Yule's works, as well as to other publications dealing with the route of Maës, see my *Ancient Khotan*, i, pp. 54 sqq.; *Innermost Asia*, ii, pp. 849 sq.

From Termez, where traffic coming from Balkh and its modern successor as a trade-centre, Mazâr-i-Sharif, usually crosses the Oxus, an easy route up the Surkhan river brings the traveller to the wide and fertile plain in the centre of the Hisâr tract. In this we may safely recognize 'the plain country' which the ravine mentioned by Marinus' authority adjoins.³³ In the comparatively narrow main valley of Kara-tegîn, stretching for some 155 miles from Âb-i-garm, where the regular road from the Hisâr side enters it, up to Daraut-kurghân, where the Alai is reached, there is more than one defile by the river. But it is practicable for laden transport, even camels, throughout, and owing to its plentiful agricultural produce offers a convenient line of communication. Then below Daraut-kurghân, now the highest village on the Kizil-su, the valley opens out into the great Pâmîr-like valley of the Alai. It is in the vicinity of Daraut-kurghân, where cultivation is carried on at an elevation of about 8000 feet and where I found a Russian post in the place of a former fort, that we may place the 'Stone Tower' where, according to Marinus, the traveller arrives after having ascended the ravine.³⁴

It is there that those following the route now towards Kâshgar would have to take their food supplies for their onward journey. But I noted in 1915 patches of recent or old cultivation for fully 27 miles above Daraut-kurghân up to an elevation of about 9000 feet. The Alai valley in general physical character resembles a Pâmîr, being an open trough with a width at its floor nowhere less than six miles. But owing to its lower elevation, from about 8000 feet at Daraut-kurghân to not more than 11,200 feet at the Taun-murun saddle as its eastern end, and owing to a somewhat moister climate, the steppe vegetation is here far more ample than on the Pâmîrs. In consequence the Alai forms, or, until the Soviet régime, formed, a favourite summer grazing-ground for very numerous camps of Kirghiz nomads.

³³ For a summary of the topographical facts supporting this tracing of the route, see *Innermost Asia*, loc. cit.

³⁴ I believe, we may recognize some evidence of the location of the 'plain country' reported by Maës' agents in the distance which the passage of Ptolemy (I. xii. 8) undoubtedly on their authority indicates immediately before quoting the words of Marinus (v. p. 92): "When the traveller had ascended the ravine he arrives at the Stone Tower," etc. Ptolemy refers here to certain bends in the route after it has entered the mountainous country of the Kômêdoi and then states that "while (generally) advancing to the east it straight turns off to the south and thence probably takes a northerly turn for fifty *schoeni* up to the Stone Tower."

I have already, in *Innermost Asia*, ii, p. 850, hinted at my belief that the point where the plain country is left for the ravine has to be sought for near Âb-i-garm, a large village reached from Faizâbâd in the easternmost portion of the open Hisâr tract, by one march along the caravan route leading to the main valley of Kara-tegîn. Now from Âb-i-garm this route, which from Faizâbâd has so far followed a north-easterly line across down-like country, turns sharply to the south-east into a narrow valley in order to reach some four miles lower down the right bank of the Surkh-âb, which it thence ascends in a north-easterly direction to Daraut-kurghân.

It is near Âb-i-garm that I believe we must place the point where the 'plain country' adjoins the ravine. For this assumption there is support in the distance which is mentioned between this point and the Stone Tower. Measured on the French General Staff's 1:1,000,000 map of Asia (*Fille* 40° N. 72° E) based on the Russian surveys the distance from Âb-i-garm to Daraut-kurghân is about 155 English miles. Accepting the equation of 30 stadia to the *schoenos* (see VI. xi. 4) and reckoning the station at 606½ English feet or approximately one-eighth of an English mile, this brings us close enough to the measurement of *circa* 190 miles recorded by Maës' agents, if due allowance is made for the necessary excess of the marching distance in hilly country over the map distance.

I may add that the meaning of Ptolemy's passage in McCrindle's translation is somewhat obscured by the too literal rendering of some of the words, unavoidable at a time when the configuration of the ground could not yet receive adequate attention. What must be regretted most is that Ptolemy has not preserved for us throughout the actual text of his predecessor.

With its open ground and excellent grazing, the great Alai valley seems as if intended by nature to serve as a very convenient channel for traffic from east to west, such as the traders bringing silk from the Târim basin needed. Another important advantage was that, what with the cultivation at one time carried on above Daraut-kurghân in the west and still at present to be found at Irkesh-tam to the east of the Taun-murun saddle, the distance on the Alai route over which shelter was not to be found scarcely exceeded 70 miles, or three easy marches on such ground.

The route remains open for eight or nine months in the year for laden animals, including camels. Even in the months of December to February when snow is deep, it would be practicable in the same way as is the trade route from Irkesh-tam across the Terek pass (12,700 feet above sea-level), provided there were enough traffic to tread a track through the snow. But such traffic between Kâshgar and the Oxus region as was once served by this ancient 'silk route' no longer exists. The trade of the Târim basin from Kâshgar now proceeds towards Farghâna, reaching the Russian railway at Andijân across the Terek pass, while what trade in sheep and cattle there comes up Kara-tegin from the hill tracts towards the Oxus is diverted at Daraut-kurghân towards Marghilân and the railway. However during the months of May and early June, when the melting snow closes the Terek pass, the eastern end of the Alai sees some of the Kâshgar trade to Farghâna making its way across the Taun-murun to the easier Taldik pass over the Alai.

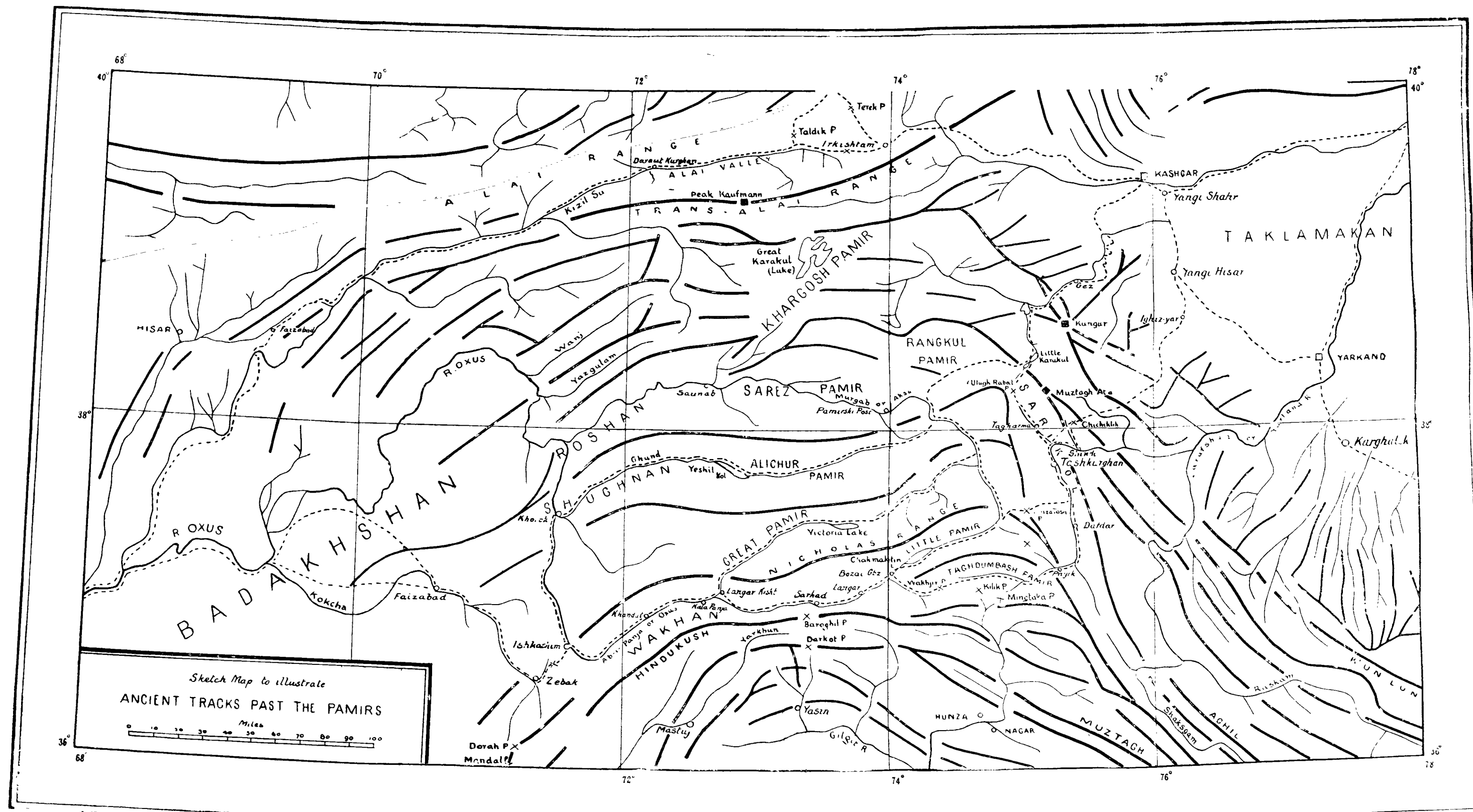
At Irkesh-tam, the present Russian frontier and Customs station,³⁵ we may safely locate 'the station at Mount Imaus whence traders start on their journey to Sêra,' as suggested long ago by Baron Richthofen. It is here that the Alai route is joined by another, much frequented in modern times and probably in antiquity also, which leads from fertile Farghâna across the Terek pass to Kâshgar. This location of the 'traders' station' at Irkesh-tam is strongly supported by Ptolemy's statements elsewhere, which place it due east of the Stone Tower and at the north-eastern limits of the territory of the 'nomadic Sakai,' the Iranian predecessors of the present Kirghiz.

At the period to which the information recorded by Maës refers, direct Chinese control is not likely to have extended beyond the watershed between the Târim basin and the Oxus. Thus Irkesh-tam, where some cultivation is possible at an elevation of about 8550 feet, would have offered a very convenient position for one of those frontier control-stations which the Chinese administration has always been accustomed to maintain on the borders and which is still maintained here at present.

.....

There is abundant evidence in Chinese and other early records that Kâshgar was all through historical times the chief trade emporium on the most frequented road connecting Western Turkistân with China. But there those agents of Maës, the Macedonian trader, found themselves still very far away from the 'Metropolis of Sêra,' the Chinese capital of Han times, which then stood at Lo-yang in the province of Honan. In the light of my experience of caravan traffic in these regions of Asia the estimate of seven months' journey to the Sêra capital from the Stone Tower, which Maës' plucky agents reported and which Ptolemy (I. xi. 4) doubted, could scarcely be thought much exaggerated.

³⁵ Cf. Stein *Sand-buried Ruins of Khotan*, p. 495.



RANDOM NOTES ON THE TRIVANDRUM PLAYS.

By E. H. JOHNSTON, M.A.

I.

THE appearance of a complete translation of the thirteen plays, attributed to Bhāsa by the late MM. Ganapati Sastri, from the experienced hands of Professors Woolner and Sarup puts further research respecting these works on a secure basis. We are still hampered, it is true, by the lack of really critical editions of most of the plays, by our ignorance of the history of the manuscript tradition, and by insufficient information about the circumstances in which these and other plays continued to be acted till recent times. It would also be desirable to know what liberties this school of actors took with the text of other plays already known to us in standard recensions ; for this would give us some measure of the extent to which the originals may have been manipulated for these acting versions. Despite the deficiency of our knowledge on these points, I think it now possible to examine with profit some of the cruces which are still left unsolved by the translators, although it is hardly safe as yet to go very far with those places where the text seems to be corrupt. The following notes deal with certain passages which have a special interest for me. Inevitably I do not see eye to eye with the translators in them ; for it would be waste of space to deal with the many difficulties in which I either would accept their solutions or am unable to improve on them. In the case of the majority of the plays there were no previous translations and the authors are to be congratulated on the general success of their enterprise ; difference of opinion on difficulties does not imply disparagement of their work.¹

My attitude to the dubious passages of the plays is necessarily determined to some extent by the conclusions I have come to on their authorship and date, and therefore I must deal briefly with these points. In my view the case, as set out, for instance, by Professor F. W. Thomas in *JRAS*, 1928, 877 ff., makes it at least highly probable that the *Scapnavāsavadatta* is by Bhāsa, not preserved entirely indeed in the state in which it left his hands, but still essentially his work. But this is no proof that the remaining plays are by the same author. The arguments originally employed to sustain that assertion were based on the similarity of technique, the character of the Prakrit and the various verbal resemblances in the plays. The first two of these have been proved valueless by subsequent enquiry and the last seems to me equally inconclusive. For the resemblances relate mainly to actors' gags and are to be found in plays undoubtedly not by Bhāsa ; as an argument it suffers from the defect of *ati-prasaṅga*. We must investigate more fully the workmanship and language of the plays before asserting an identity of authorship which on the face of it seems hardly probable. The metrical usages of the plays have already been discussed with suggestive results in this journal (1931, 46 ff.) by R. V. Jahagirdar, and I prefer to make my approach by considering the handling of the dramatic problem, as exemplified in the *SV*.

All art consists in selection, and it is precisely in the nature of the facts which an author chooses for representation that his individuality becomes most apparent. When his attitude to his material has been determined correctly, it will be found that the same attitude persists in all his works, however varied the themes or stories of which he treats, subject of course to the development natural in an author whose working life is prolonged. This principle holds for Sanskrit literature as well as for any other, even though the canons of literary activity followed in India tend to the suppression, as far as possible, of the outward signs of a writer's individuality. But Nature is not to be denied and the signs are there, though we have to dig deeper to arrive at them.

¹ I refer throughout to the texts printed in the Trivandrum Sanskrit Series, though in some cases later editions are preferable for use. It is much to be desired that new editions should number the sentences between each verse, so that references to one edition could be traced at once in any other. I mention each play once by its full name and thereafter by initials which will easily be recognised.

In the present case the strikingly original character of Bhâsa's work and the exceptional position it occupies in the history of the Indian theatre have, so far as I know, never been adequately appreciated. For if we enquire what point of the story it was that excited Bhâsa's mind and led him to creative effort, a remarkable feature of the play instantly obtrudes itself upon us, and that is that from start to finish Vâsavadattâ is on the stage almost the whole time and that it is her feelings which the dramatist is forcing us to consider every moment. To this purpose all the other characters are subordinated. Udayana, who might engage our interest or sympathies to the detriment of the real object of the play, is kept off the stage till the fourth act, and even then only those aspects of his character and actions which affect Vâsavadattâ are presented to us. Of the others, we might, if we had no other knowledge of him, look on Yaugandharâyaṇa as a rather futile schemer; how differently he appears in the *Pratijñâyauḡandharâyaṇa*! The Viḡḡḡaka's rôle is important only as giving us some change from a contemplation of Vâsavadattâ's feelings, which might otherwise become monotonous, and as bridging over the transitions from one climax to the next, ever an awkward point in the construction of plays; while Padmâvatî becomes a mere foil to Vâsavadattâ, to give higher relief to the latter's feelings. The same explanation holds good for another feature of the play, which puzzled me much on first reading it years ago, namely, the exiguous way in which the plot is set out in the first act. It was not so much that knowledge of the details of a well-known tale might be presumed in an Indian audience as that their narration was superfluous for the dramatist's purpose and was accordingly to be omitted. It is evident that the object of the play is to present the feelings of an ideal woman placed in a cruel situation and that anything which obscured that aim was to be omitted. And with what genius has Bhâsa carried out his idea! Every touch in the play has its definite part in the general scheme, which is never sacrificed as in most of the other works of this group for immediate scenic effect, the 'staginess' which is, for instance, so apparent in the commercial plays usually to be seen in the London theatres. Notice how admirably each scene enhances the strain on the heroine's feelings and initiates us into new possibilities of the situation, till ultimately the happy dénouement comes; what a part for a subtle actress!

One scene, it is true, has been held to show defective technique, namely in the last act when Vâsavadattâ comes on the stage without being recognised by the king. The objection taken to this by Professor A. B. Keith and the translators seems to me to be without substance. In the first act of the play Vâsavadattâ makes it plain that, as being separated from her husband, she must not appear before other men, and her conception of proper behaviour is emphasized again in later acts, whenever the conversation turns on Udayana. The exact nature of the arrangement by which she was screened from the king's view escapes our knowledge now, but it would have been inconsistent with the previous passages for her to have appeared unveiled at this point. The only weaknesses in the plot are the coincidences with which the play starts, the meeting with Padmâvatî and the arrival of the Brâhman student, whose only *raison d'être* is to tell us the heroine's previous history and to provide the opportunity for our first insight into her feelings. But these are not serious blemishes, just because they come at the beginning and are, as it were, the postulates on which the story is based. Thus they do not shock the spectator, as would be the case with similar coincidences occurring in the working out of the plot. A dramatist may draw heavily on our credulity, when setting out the situation of his characters, provided that he is then logical in developing the plot out of the conditions he has originally posited. This principle Bhâsa had grasped.

This analysis makes it clear that to him the proper subject of a dramatic problem was the revelation of the various sides of a given character under the stress of emotions gradually heightened almost to breaking point. But we shall look in vain for any later play in Sanskrit which treats the display of a single character under the searchlight of the theatre as the real

problem for solution. Compare for a moment Kālidāsa's masterpiece with its not entirely dissimilar theme. While Śakuntalā's feelings are an essential part of the story, our attention is not merely not exclusively directed to them, but the emotion is deliberately kept pitched in a low key so as not to disturb the general tone of the play. The resulting pattern is much richer than that attained by Bhāsa and more in accord with the conditions of the Indian theatre, in which, as has happened elsewhere, close association with sophisticated courts brought as consequences the demand for a happy ending and for æsthetic entertainment in place of emotional excitement. Bhāsa's methods however should lead in the natural course to attempts to probe the deepest recesses of passion or to explore the ultimates of human character and conduct, as the greatest of European tragedians set themselves to do. And in plays of that type, while we should be left at the close with a feeling of peace after storm, the conventional happy ending is an anti-climax, which jars on a sensitive audience. It is because the rules of the day forced such an ending on the *SV* that after the beautiful handling of the theme in the earlier acts we come to earth with a bump in the summary dénouement of the last act. His successors were therefore wise, given the conditions under which they worked, not to push further along the road he had opened, but to devote themselves to the exploitation of another aspect of his work. For in my view he is the first Sanskrit author, to whom the exact preservation of 'values,' if I may use a term of modern painting, is the essential of good drama and good writing. This is the quality denoted by *rasa* in its original meaning before the pedantry of the rhetoricians degraded it, and I shall have more to say about this in comparing the dialogue of the *SV* with that of the *Daridracārudatta*, but in this point he is the forerunner of Kālidāsa, who is as supreme among poets for his handling of values, as Velasquez or Vermeer among painters.

The inference I draw from this line of reasoning is that no play can safely be attributed to Bhāsa, which does not show the same attitude to the theatre. One play undoubtedly does show it, namely the *PY*, and for this reason I would give it to him. In fact almost every scholar, whatever his opinion about the authorship of the plays as a whole, holds that these two plays are by the same hand. In the *PY* the problem is to present the character of an ideal minister in all its facets, his foresight and fertility of resource, his loyalty, his bravery and steadfastness. From this point of view it is at once apparent that Act ii, whose genuineness is doubted by Professor Woolner, is a later interpolation, if only because it distracts our attention for too long from the real subject of the play. Very properly neither Udayana nor Mahāsena are brought on the stage in the genuine parts of the play, because their superior social status would obscure Yaugandharāyaṇa's position as hero. Even after removing this obstruction to our enjoyment, the play is not entirely successful. The first act, for instance, is too lacking in dramatic effect with its long drawn out tale of Udayana's capture. Yet even this has its point. For while it would have been easy to present the story on the stage in a form which would have been far more thrilling to the audience, the point to which Bhāsa wishes to direct our attention is not the capture of the king but the minister's reaction to it; it is his character alone which is to concern us. The translators object similarly to the lack of action in the last act.

These criticisms really amount to this, that the author has failed to observe the conditions of the stage in the solution of his problem. For the theatre demands that a play, which is not a poetic drama designed for the reader instead of the spectator, should enforce its point on us, whatever it may be, whether the development of a character, of a story, or of emotion, by purely dramatic methods, that is by means of action, situation and dialogue, and not by mere description of action and feelings; and there is too much of these last in the *PY*. I would go further and say that the play's failure is due in the last resort to faulty choice of subject. The theme is the minister's character, not his emotions under stress, but Bhāsa's gifts were not adapted to this. For as a dramatist he is at his best in situations which demand

the subtle representation of emotion in a romantic setting, since nature endowed him with a genuine and delicate, if somewhat slight, lyrical talent, a capacity for intensely dramatic dialogue and a subtle sense of humour. Two instances of the latter I explain below, but many allusions and hits, which would have been apparent enough to the audience of his day, are veiled for us by our ignorance of contemporary literature. In these last two aspects of his genius I doubt if he is surpassed by any other Sanskrit playwright, not even by Kālidāsa himself. But in the first point he did not fully exploit the possibilities of the use of verse on the stage. For the spectator is also an auditor, and nicely calculated verbal music by its capacity for expressing emotional tension is able to bring home to him the full bearing of the situation.

One curious detail, dealt with below, separates these two plays from the remainder, namely that in them alone are to be found definite allusions to the works of Āśvaghoṣa. There are a few passages in the other plays which bear some resemblance to passages in the Buddhist poet, but they are not of a nature which enables it to be said that the resemblance is anything but fortuitous.

Of the remaining plays the excellence of the *DC* has always been recognised, but I fail to see how it can possibly be by the same hand as the *SV* and *PY*. The author has an admirable melodramatic talent, and the centre of gravity lies in the story, not in the delineation of character or of shades of emotion. While his story-telling is good, his command of the details of dramatic technique is weak, and, as shown by Dr. Morgenstierne, a good part of Śūdraka's work in taking over the play lay in smoothing out the minor discrepancies and improbabilities. Bhāsa shows no such crudities in his plays. The verse of the play is competent, sometimes good, but of stronger, coarser, texture than that of Bhāsa's delicate muse; the occasional clumsinesses may be due, in some cases at least, to a faulty text tradition. As compared with the *SV* and *PY*, the dialogue is crisper, wittier, more idiomatic, with sharper outlines, the conversation of a cultured *gosthī* refined to a high degree. But it throws its light only on the exterior facets of life, explaining the immediate action of the stage, but not the hidden life behind. Bhāsa eschews a vivid presentation of the outer scene in order to let us see, reflected as it were in the mirror of their words, the emotions that move his persons. The hard, bright forms that bring the story of the *DC* to life would ruin the delicate tone-scheme of the *SV*, whose shimmering talk with its careful attention to values transports us to a world where the outer accidents of life seem but shadows, the inner life the reality. And thus each figure in the latter, generalised though it be to the point of blurring the individual traits, stands out before us like a statue in the round, whereas the *DC* is a bas-relief, animated and exciting, but essentially flat in pattern. It is not surprising therefore that its dialogue contains far more difficulties than those of the other two plays, and in detail of style and language it seems to me to belong to a slightly later period. It may be noted as a curiosity that these three works are fond of the construction with *kāmam* (*SV* once, *PY* twice, *DC* three times, as against twice all told in the remaining ten plays).

If I cannot see the hand of Bhāsa in the *DC*, still less can I see it in the remainder, which dramatically stand on a much lower level and linguistically seem to belong to a substantially later period. It is significant of earlier Indian opinion of their value that, while there is definite evidence connecting Bhāsa with the *SV*, and while the *PY* and the *DC* are known to the dramatic theorists, we have no allusion to any of the other plays and only one or two of their verses are quoted in the anthologies. For language I may note that these plays are decidedly fond of using the idiom by which a verb meaning 'go' governs an abstract noun in °tā to indicate the assumption of a state or likeness; this idiom is not to be found in the first three plays or in the earliest *kāvya* generally. To take one play, the *Avimāraka*, I would refer to the addiction of its author for the verb *mandībhū* (four times), not found in the other plays. It seems to be an attempt to imitate the *DC* in its method, but the author

is utterly incompetent to handle dramatically a story which in itself has possibilities. The latest of all seems to be the *Abhisekandātaka*, whose inferiority is recognised by the translators. The use of a word such as *bhagaṇeśa*, 'sun' (vi, 6), is sufficient to prove the lateness of the author, who also uses *srasta* twice (i, 9, and 16) in the curious sense of 'sunken' eyes, a usage only known to medical literature according to the *PW*. The *Pratimānātaka* is perhaps the best of them, at any rate in parts, but the famous statue scene is hardly well carried through, and its intrusion into the play is dramatically a mistake, as interrupting the story and distracting our interest from the leading characters, just when we ought to be concentrating on them. In general the low standard of workmanship of these plays is painfully apparent, if we compare them with, say, the *Mattavilāsa* or the four *bhāṇas* published under the name of *Caturbhāṇi*, to take only works of the second rank. It is to my mind one of the curiosities of literary criticism that ten plays, so deficient in dramatic properties and so lacking in distinction of language, should have been confidently attributed to a master of style and of the theatre, such as the *SV* shows Bhāsa to have been. Though differences of language and technique suggest that several hands are responsible for them, it would be of little interest to discuss among how many authors they should be distributed.

(To be continued.)

MISCELLANEA.

AN ARCHAEOLOGICAL ATLAS OF GREATER INDIA.

The Kern Institute has undertaken the publication of an Archaeological Atlas of Greater India (India proper, Ceylon, Further India and Indonesia). A preliminary list of the maps which the proposed Atlas is to contain will be found subjoined to this notice, but the editors wish it to be understood that this list is by no means final but can be enlarged or modified. Any suggestion made with regard to the proposed scheme will receive careful consideration.

It is the intention of the editors to restrict themselves to ancient, i.e., pre-Muhammadan India. The information embodied in the maps will be chiefly topographical, the ancient names (Sanskrit or Sanskritized) of towns, villages, districts, rivers, etc., being printed in red letters under the modern names.

It will be the endeavour of the editors to collect and utilize all available data regarding the ancient topography found in Sanskrit, Pali, and Prakrit literature and inscriptions. There can be little doubt that there are still many passages hidden away in that huge literature which will throw light on the position of a certain locality and which hitherto have escaped notice. The task of collecting such passages cannot, however, be accomplished without the co-operation of many scholars.

The editors, therefore, appeal to the scholars of Great Britain and India to lend them their valuable assistance in this matter. This assistance can best be rendered by the communication of any passage of geographical interest, which will be the more

valuable if taken from some little-known or unpublished text. It goes without saying that information derived from other sources (Greek, Chinese, Tibetan, etc.) will be equally welcome.

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(Address : Kern Institute, Leiden, Holland.)

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BOOK-NOTICE.

HINDU ADMINISTRATIVE INSTITUTIONS IN SOUTH INDIA, by Rao Bahadur S. K. Aiyangar, M.A., PH.D. Published by the Madras University.

This work constitutes the course of Sir William Meyer lectures for the year 1929-30 delivered to the University of Madras by Professor S. Krishnaswami Aiyangar. They constitute a course of six lectures, the object of which is to examine the gradual process of the origin and growth of the administrative institutions under Hindu rule in South India. That the administrative institutions of this country have a character of their own, notwithstanding a considerable similarity of principle between these and those of northern India has already been made clear by the same writer years ago. In this course, he makes a more systematic examination and utilises the information which has become available since then and leads to a more or less complete study of the subject.

Starting from the established fact that South India, India south of the Krishna, constituted in many particulars a separate and distinct division of India, the lecturer proceeds by a careful examination of Early Tamil literature to discover the rudiments of these institutions in early Tamil India. While he collects together and explains the scattered references to these, and hints at some of those that have become more prominent later, he subjects these to an examination in the light of one section of the great classic, Kural, which devotes itself to the second of the four ends of existence, namely wealth. This book, by far the largest, constituting the second of the three large sections of the Kural, constitutes by itself an *Arthashastra* comparable to that of Kautilya, though much closer in point of its attitude to society than the political chapters of the *Dharmaśāstras* generally.

These two topics provide the necessary background from which to proceed. There is then an examination of the references to administrative institutions in the few Pallava inscriptions that have been brought to notice, followed by another chapter on the records of the age of the Great Pallavas, where these institutions show a greater development, and the information available also becomes more full. The inscriptional material available is analysed, commented upon and discussed to make the details more intelligible than they are as they are found in the published inscriptions of the department of Epigraphy. In the age of the Pallavas, extending from 300 to 900, these show a greater development, and a more extensive growth in the Tamil country. When, therefore, we pass from out of the Pallava dominance into the period of the Chola ascendancy, we are already provided with a set of institutions fairly complete and self-sufficient. Though these received their complete development under the Chola empire extending from, or a little before, 900 to 1350, it is under the Cholas that these institutions are seen at their

best, and in the fullest working order, chiefly owing to the fulness of information available for the particular period.

The next lecture gives in outline the system in working order under the Cholas. It is there exhibited as a fully developed system of local government subject to the control, as it would seem the minimum control, of the provincial governors, the central government interfering effectively generally only on appeal. The information is all collected from the large number of inscriptions scattered through the Tamil country containing various of these details. In a number of instances these seem to be brought together in official communications of different kinds, and when these are in actual use, they supply us with extracts from the elaborate registers and official records maintained by the government. These exhibit the system as it obtained under the Chola empire; the whole practical administration was in the hands of rural communities consisting either of large single villages, or of unions of villages constituting groups. These took cognisance of practically all departments of civil administration, revenue, judicial, irrigation, D. P. W., etc., and were actually managed by committees elected by the inhabitants of villages under recognised rules of franchise and procedure. An important appendix to this section gives the text and translation of a circular issued pretty early in the period under the great ruler Parāntaka I. These communities and committees exercised extensive powers, and from the material presented, it seems clear that these bodies discharged their responsibilities very satisfactorily on the whole.

Having given a picture of the administration at its best, the next lecture exhibits the condition of this administration through the period of confusion following the Muhammadan invasions and the single-minded struggle to keep that part of the country free from Muhammadan domination. The administration of the various parts constituting the Vijayanagar empire from the middle of the fourteenth century to the middle of the eighteenth shows a successful effort at reparation, and conservation of the system as it obtained in the previous age.

The course of lectures, on the whole, gives us a well-documented picture of the administration as it actually obtained, and gives us an idea, a much fuller idea than any we have hitherto had, of a system of Indian administration. In the concluding pages attention is drawn to efforts at rural reconstruction in modern times, what the ultimate aims of such rural reconstruction are intended to be, and how far the system of rural administration as it obtained under Hindu rule comes up to the ideals of modern administrative reform. It is an illuminating course of lectures quite worthy of the author and the founder of the endowment.

D. R. BHANDARKAR.

HISTORICAL DATA IN PADMAGUPTA'S NAVASÂHASÂŃKACARITA.

By PROF. V. V. MIRASHI, M.A., HEAD OF THE SANSKRIT DEPARTMENT, NAGPUR UNIVERSITY.

THE *NavasâhasâŃkacarita* of Padmagupta, *alias* Parimala, is one of the few important *kâvyas* in Sanskrit literature. Soon after its discovery Messrs. Zachariæ and Bühler wrote a descriptive and critical account of it in the *Sitzungsberichte* of the Vienna Imp. Academy of Sciences (1888), which was translated into English and published in the *Indian Antiquary*, vol. XXXVI (1907). The work has been edited by Paṇḍit V. S. Islampurkar in the Bombay Sanskrit Series (1895). It is now well known that its author, Padmagupta, was a court poet, first of Vâkpati Muñja and then of his successor, Sindhurâja, the father of the illustrious Bhoja of Dhârâ. Soon after its composition its literary merits were recognised by ancient critics, and it has been drawn upon for illustrations of figures, etc., by writers on dramaturgy and rhetoric from Dhanañjaya (eleventh century) downwards. Apart from its literary merits, its importance for contemporary history cannot be over-estimated, for it is one of the few *kâvyas* in Sanskrit literature, the authors of which have given a poetic account of the events in the lives of their patrons. The direct references to historical events contained in it were collected by Dr. Bühler in the article above referred to : " A number of princes and peoples, whom Sindhurâja is said to have conquered, are presented in X, 14-20. Among the names mentioned are found a prince of the Hûṇas of the same race as he, with whom Siyaka waged war, and a prince of the Kosalas. Further is mentioned the subjection of the inhabitants of Vâgaḍa, of the eastern part of the province of Kacch, of Lâṭa, middle and central Gujârât, and the Muralas, of a people in Southern India, that is perhaps identical with the Keralas, the inhabitants of Malabâr. The word of an Indian court poet, when he speaks of his lord's victories, must not be put in golden scales. Every Indian hero must have made his *divijayayâtrâ*, 'his march to the conquest of the world.' " ¹ This last remark of Dr. Bühler has been falsified in several instances by recent historical researches. Indian poets may have been fond of exaggeration but we should not brush aside their account as untrustworthy, unless it is disproved or rendered unlikely by other, incontrovertible evidence. Unfortunately no inscriptional records of the reign of Sindhurâja have yet been discovered, but from what we know of the reigns of his predecessors and successors, his wars referred to by Padmagupta do not seem to be improbable. We know, for instance, that both Siyaka² and Muñja³ had waged wars on a Hûṇa king, and that the grandfather of Bhâskara, who engraved the Sanskrit dramas at Ajmer in the twelfth century, was born in a family of Hûṇa princes and was a favourite of King Bhoja.⁴ The Hûṇa princes defeated by the Paramâra and Kalacuri kings must have been reigning in some part of Central India. We know, again, that Bhoja's authority was acknowledged in Lâṭa till 1086 A.D. at least.⁵ As a matter of fact, Dr. Bühler also has acknowledged that " the expeditions against the Hûṇa, against Vâgaḍ, which belonged to the kingdom of the Câlukya of Aṇhîlvâḍ, and against Lâṭa where ruled the dynasty of Bârâpa, were not at all unlikely." The same can also be said of the wars against the Muralas and Kosalas. As I have shown elsewhere,⁶ Murala need not be identified with Kerala, but must be placed in the northern part of the Nizâm's Dominions. The king of Kosala defeated by Sindhurâja must have been one of the Gupta or the Śara-bhapur dynasty that ruled at Śrîpur in the Central Provinces.

To the above list of kings and peoples vanquished by Sindhurâja we might add the kings of Kuntala and Aparântaka or Koṅkaṇa. Sindhurâja's victories over them have not

¹ *I.A.*, XXXVI, p. 171.

² The Udepur Prasasti of the kings of Malwa, *E.I.*, I, p. 223.

³ Kauthem Plates of Vikramâditya V, *I.A.*, XVI, p. 15 f.

⁴ *I.A.*, XX, p. 201.

⁵ Proceedings of the Poona Oriental Conference—Tilakwada Plates.

⁶ *Annals of the Bhandarkar Institute*, XI, p. 369.

been noticed by Dr. Bühler. Padmagupta thus describes the former event⁷ :— “ Who (Sindhurāja) with his sword red with missiles took back his kingdom (*svarājya*) which was occupied by the lord of Kuntala, who had overrun all directions, just as the sun, whose har-binger is Aruṇa, assumes possession of the day that was before enveloped in dense darkness spread in all directions.” The use of the word *antarita* (occupied) in connection with *svarājya* (kingdom) shows that the lord of Kuntala had annexed some portion of the Paramāra kingdom, and that Sindhurāja won it back. Kuntala is well known as the name of the Southern Marāṭhā Country, which was then ruled over by the Later Cālukyas.⁸ Tailapa, the founder of this dynasty, had defeated, imprisoned and afterwards beheaded Sindhurāja’s elder brother and predecessor, Vākpati Muñja. Tailapa seems to have next annexed the southern portion of the Paramāra kingdom, which we learn from Merutuṅga’s account, extended as far as the Godāvari.⁹ Padmagupta is naturally silent about these reverses sustained by his former patron whom he held in great veneration ; but we need not, on that account, doubt the veracity of his statement that Sindhurāja won the territory back soon after his accession. Tailapa died soon after Muñja, in 997 A.D., and his son Satyāśraya, though a worthy successor of his father, found himself soon involved in a protracted struggle with the Coḷa king, Rājārāja the Great. It was only in 1007-1008 A.D. when Satyāśraya inflicted a crushing defeat on the Coḷas, that the danger of Coḷa invasion disappeared. During these troublous times, when Satyāśraya’s attention was directed to the south, Sindhurāja must have recovered the territory lost by his predecessor, Vākpati Muñja. The Kalvan plates of Yaśovarman¹⁰ show that Paramāra supremacy was acknowledged in the Śvetapada country (the northern part of the Nāsik district) in the time of Sindhurāja’s son and successor Bhoja.

Sindhurāja’s victory in Aparānta or Koṅkaṇa¹¹ is also very important for understanding the events described in the *Navasāhasāṅkacarita*. The Śilāhāras of North Koṅkaṇa were for a long time the feudatories of the Rāṣtrakūṭas. They do not seem to have readily submitted to the later Cālukyas, after the overthrow of the Rāṣtrakūṭas, for the plates¹² of Aparājitadeva dated Śaka 915 and 919, though he calls himself Mahāsāmanta therein, give the genealogy of the Rāṣtrakūṭas, and not of the later Cālukyas, and contain expressions of regret for the overthrow of his former suzerains. After 997 A.D. he may have submitted to Satyāśraya, for we learn from the work of the Kanarese poet Raṇṇa that Tailapa’s son, Satyāśraya, “routed the lord of Koṅkaṇa and extended his kingdom as far as the sea.” When Aparājita fled and entered the sea he desisted from slaying him. Hemmed in by the ocean on one side and the sea of Satyāśraya’s army on the other, Aparāditya trembled like an insect on a stick both the ends of which are on fire. Satyāśraya burnt Aṁśunagara in Aparāditya’s country and received twenty-one elephants from him.¹³ Aparāditya seems to have died soon after. He had two sons—Arikesarin, *alias* Keśideva, and Vajjaḍa. From the Bhāndup plates of Chittarāja, we learn that the latter, though younger, succeeded to the throne, superseding the claims of Arikesarin.¹⁴ It seems that Arikesarin called in the aid of Sindhurāja to gain the throne of which he was the rightful claimant. Sindhurāja’s invasion of Aparānta must, evidently, have been directed against Vajjaḍa, to place his elder brother on the throne of northern Koṅkaṇa. No inscriptions of Vajjaḍa have come down to us. His father, Aparāditya, was on the throne in 997 A.D. If the above reconstruction of the history of Koṅkaṇa

7 आक्रान्तदिङ्मण्डलकुन्तलेन्द्रसान्द्रान्धकारान्तरितं रणे यः । स्वराज्यमस्त्राणमण्डलाग्रो गृहीतवान् दीधितिमानिवाहः ॥
नवसाहस्रसंकचरित I, 74.

⁸ E.I., XII, p. 144 f.

⁹ Smith—*Early History of India*, 3rd Edition, p. 395.

¹⁰ E.I., vol. XIX.

¹¹ *Navasāhasāṅkacarita* X, 19.

¹² C. V. Vaidya—*History of Mediæval Hindu India*, vol. II, App. VI ; E.I., III, p. 271.

¹³ I A., XL, p. 41.

¹⁴ तन्मादभूद्वज्रजैवनामाततोऽग्रजः श्रीकेशिदेवश्च । E.I., XII, p. 262.

is correct, Arikesarin must have gained the throne in the first decade of the eleventh century. Vajjaḍa could, therefore, have reigned only for a short time. We know that Arikesarin continued on the throne till 1017 A.D. at least, for the Thana plates, in which he calls himself the lord of the whole of Koṅkaṇa, were issued in that year. We shall see later on that he sent a large army under his son to help Sindhurāja, evidently out of gratitude for the help he had received from him.

After disposing of the direct references to Sindhurāja's victories, let us turn to the story of the *Navasāhasāṇkacarita*.

Sindhurāja, while hunting on the slopes of the Vindhya mountains sees and falls in love with Śaśiprabhā, also called Āsugā, a daughter of the snake king Śaṅkhapāla. She has for her friends Pātālā, the snake princess, Mālyavatī, the daughter of a *siddha*, and Kalāvati, the daughter of a king of Kinnaras. Śaśiprabhā, after her meeting with the king, is carried away by invisible snakes to Bhogavatī in the nether world. The king flings himself into the stream of the Narmadā to follow her, and on the other side reaches a golden palace. The river goddess Narmadā receives him hospitably, and tells him how he should win Śaśiprabhā. When she was born, it was predicted that she would become the wife of a ruler of the middle world and bring about the death of Vajrāṅkuśa, a mighty enemy of the snakes. Her father laid down the following condition for her marriage, *viz.*, that her suitor should bring the lotus with golden flowers which grows in the pleasure garden of Vajrāṅkuśa. Narmadā tells Sindhurāja that at a distance of fifty *gavyūtis* lies the town of Ratnavatī built by Maya, the architect of the Asuras, where reigns Vajrāṅkuśa, the prince of demons. Finally Narmadā prophesies that the king will meet the sage Vaṅku on his way to Ratnavatī. He then sends a message to Śaśiprabhā by Ratnacūḍa, a snake youth who had been cursed by a sage to become a parrot, but was released from that state by Sindhurāja. Then the king accompanied by his minister Yaśobhaṭa, also called Ramāṅgada, starts for Ratnavatī. On the way they reach the grove of the sage Vaṅku. There they converse with the sage and meet Śaśikhaṇḍa, the son of Śikhaṇḍaketu, a king of the Vidyādhara, who had been transformed into a monkey, but regained his original form by the favour of Sindhurāja. In gratefulness Śaśikhaṇḍa brought his troops to help the king in his expedition. The king then proceeds, sees a wood and then the Trimārggā (Jaṅgā). He also meets an army led by Ratnacūḍa. The allied armies surround the town Ratnavatī. A battle is fought. Ramāṅgada, the minister of Sindhurāja, kills Viśvāṅkuśa, the son of Vajrāṅkuśa. The king himself kills Vajrāṅkuśa. The town Ratnavatī is stormed and taken. The snake youth Ratnacūḍa is made Governor of the kingdom of the Asura king. The king takes possession of the golden lotus flowers and proceeds towards Bhogavatī. He presents the golden flowers to Śaśiprabhā and marries her. Śaṅkhapāla makes the king a present of the crystal *Śivaliṅga* made by Tvasṭri. The king returns to Ujjaini, and then to Dhārā, where he establishes the crystal *Śivaliṅga*.

The brief analysis of the poem given above will show that Padmagupta has chosen to follow the method of Rājasekhara¹⁵ in describing some incidents in the career of his patron in a romantic and miraculous way, rather than that of Bāṇa, who presents the life of his hero in a more direct, though poetically embellished manner. Padmagupta is not the only follower of Rājasekhara's method. Sodḍhala, the author of the *Udayasundarī Kathā* and Bilhaṇa, who composed the *Vikramāṅkadevacarita*, have followed it in their respective works. As Dr. Bühler has remarked, "the story from the personal history of Sindhurāja, which represents the true object of Padmagupta's work, is unfortunately surrounded with so thick a mythological covering that it is impossible, without the help of accounts containing only sober facts to give particular details with certainty."¹⁶ If we read between the lines

¹⁵ See his *Karpūramañjarī* and *Viddhaśālabhañjikā*.

¹⁶ *I.A.*, XXXVI, p. 171.

however, certain historical facts stand out with prominence. The poem is evidently intended to celebrate Sindhurāja's victory over Vajrāṅkuśa, in which he was aided by a Vidyādhara prince and a Nāga chieftain, and his matrimonial alliance with the latter. As Dr. Bühler surmised, "the Nāga princess Śasiprabhā was not a snake goddess, but the daughter of a king or chief from the far spread race of Nāga Kshatriyas."¹⁷ To this we might add that the Vidyādhara prince also is not a semi-divine being. He is evidently a Śilāhāra king; for the Śilāhāras trace their descent from Jimūtavāhana, the mythical prince of the Vidyādhara.¹⁸ Vajrāṅkuśa again is not a prince of demons, but a chief of aborigines, perhaps Gonds, whose capital, Ratnavatī, must be looked for in the hilly regions not far from the Narmadā, for we have a valuable hint for its location in the speech of the river goddess that it lay at a distance of fifty *gavyūtis* or 100 *krośas*, i.e., 150 to 200 English miles, from the place where Sindhurāja crossed the river.¹⁹ After conjecturing the snake princess to be the daughter of a Nāga king of Rājputānā or Central India, Bühler remarked "To venture further on this point is not advisable while we have no assistance from inscriptions."²⁰ I will now try to identify these kings from inscriptional evidence. From the direct references to Sindhurāja's victories in the *Navasāhasāṅkacarita*, which have been discussed above at the beginning of this article it is clear that this campaign of Sindhurāja must be placed late in his reign, probably towards the end of the first decade of the eleventh century; for he is described in this work as having already vanquished the kings of Kuntala, Kacch, Lāṭa, Aparānta and Kosala, as well as a Hūṇa prince. The poet's description that he had to cross the Narmadā on the way, shows that the country of Vajrāṅkuśa lay to the south of that river. Similarly the city Bhogavatī of the snake king must be looked for in Pātāla, i.e., to the south of Mālwa. We cannot, therefore, agree with Dr. Bühler who thought that he must be a chief of Rājputānā or Central India. Besides there is no mention of Nāga chiefs in those regions in the records of the eleventh century, while we know from inscriptions that Nāga princes were then reigning in two regions in the Central Provinces, viz., the Kawardha and Bastar States. From the Boramdeo temple inscription²¹ we learn that Gopāladeva was ruling in the region now known as the Kawardha State in 1088 A.D. Rai Bahadur Hirālāl identifies him with the sixth ruler Gopāladeva of the Phaṇi- or Nāgavaṁśa mentioned in the Maṇḍavā Mahal inscription at Chaurā.²² Śaṅkha-pāla, the father of Śasiprabhā, may have been meant to represent one of the ancestors of Gopāladeva. It is likely that he bore a name ending in *pāla*, as we find several such names of the descendants of Gopāladeva recorded in the Maṇḍavā Mahal inscription. We know that Sanskrit poets were in the habit of coining names bearing some resemblance to those of their contemporaries who figure in their works.²³ Besides the short distance of the Kawardha state from the slopes of the Vindhya Mountain, where Śasiprabhā had gone for sport, would make this hypothesis quite plausible. There are, however, some other considerations against this identification. No inscriptions of the ancestors of Gopāladeva have yet been discovered, and it is not known if any of them was powerful enough to make the matrimonial alliance with him advantageous to Sindhurāja from the political or strategic point of view. We know from the *Navasāhasāṅkacarita* that Sindhurāja had already overrun Kosala, which must be identified with Chattisgaḍh of modern times. Besides, Gopāladeva uses the Kalacuri era in his inscription, and it is likely that his ancestors

¹⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 172.

¹⁸ Cf. The Bhāndup Plates of Chhittarājadeva, *E.I.*, XII, p. 250.

¹⁹ इतोऽस्ति गव्यूतिशताधेमात्रं गत्वा पुरी रत्नवतीति नाम्ना । विनिर्मिता शिल्पकलामयेन मयेन या नाकजिगीषयेव ॥ IX, 51.

²⁰ *I.A.*, XXXVI, p. 172.

²¹ R. B. Hirālāl, *List of inscriptions in C. P. and Berar*, 2nd ed., p. 174.

²² *Ibid.*, p. 174.

²³ See my article on 'Yuvarājadeva I of Tripurī' (*Annals of the Bhandarkar Institute*, XI, p. 370), where I have shown that the characters Bhāgurāyana and Virapāla in the *Viddhaśālabhañjikā* are intended to represent Bhākamīśra and Bappuga, known from Kalacuri and Rāṣṭrakūṭa inscriptions.

also were subordinate to the Kalacuris of Tummāṇa. They are not, therefore, likely to have allied themselves with Sindhurāja against their lord, the contemporary Kalacuri king of Tummāṇa, who, as we shall see below, was on the side of his enemy. Lastly they do not, so far as I know, call themselves lords of Bhogavatī, the capital of the Nāga king, to which Śaśiprabhā was led by Nāgas after her meeting with Sindhurāja. These considerations make the other hypothesis of the identification of Śaṅkhapāla with the ruler of Cakrakotya²⁴ seem probable.

We know that the princes of Cakrakotya call themselves Nāgavamsīs and lords of Bhogavatī.²⁵ This dynasty produced some powerful kings towards the end of the eleventh and the beginning of the twelfth century. Their capital, Cakrakūṭa or Cakrakotya, often figures in inscriptions, which shows the strategic importance of that territory. The *Vikramāṅkadēvacarita* of Bilhaṇa²⁶ states, for instance, that his hero Vikramāditya VI went to Cakrakūṭa and Kalinganagara, evidently to form a triple alliance with the kings of those countries to thwart the ambitious schemes of the contemporary Coḷa king, Vīrarājendra.²⁷ What was the object of Sindhurāja in forming the matrimonial alliance recorded in the *Navasāhasāṅkacarita*? We have seen that soon after his accession Sindhurāja found a favourable opportunity to regain the lost territory from the contemporary Cālukya king. In 1008 A.D. Satyāśraya died. His successors, Daśavarman, Vikramāditya V and Ayyaṇa, who reigned for a short period of seven years (from 1009 to 1015 A.D.) do not seem to have been sufficiently powerful. There was thus no danger of the Paramāra kingdom being invaded by the Cālukyas. But the weakness of the Cālukya kings had added to the strength of Rājarāja the Great and his ambitious successor, Rājendrachōladeva I. It was probably to check the onward march of the Coḷa king that Sindhurāja with commendable foresight entered into the matrimonial alliance with the king of Cakrakotya.²⁸

That alliance must have benefitted the other party also. One of its objects has been explicitly stated in the poem, viz., the subjugation of Vajrāṅkuśa. The demon-king must be none other than Vajjūka²⁹ (also called Vajjuvarman in one record³⁰), the lord of Komo Maṇḍala. We know from the Ratanpur inscription of Jājalladeva I (1114 A.D.) that Vajjūka gave his daughter, Nonallā, to Ratnadeva.²⁹ The marriage alliance must have made Ratnadeva very powerful, as is suggested by a passage in the above inscription.³¹ Hence we find this lady's name mentioned in the records of Ratnadeva's successors,³² much in the same way as the name of Kumāradevī is mentioned in Gupta inscriptions. Vajjūka was, therefore, a contemporary of Ratnadeva's father Kamalarāja, who contributed to the prosperity of Gāṅgeyadeva, as described in the Amoda plates of the Haihaya king Prithvīrāja.³³ Vajjūka was thus a junior contemporary of Sindhurāja, as we know that Bhoja and Gāṅgeyadeva flourished in the same period.³⁴ The Nāgavamsī kings of Cakrakotya were often at war

²⁴ Cakrakotya has been satisfactorily identified by R. B. Hirālāl with the central portion of the Bastar State. See *List of C. P. Inscriptions*, p. 150.

²⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 146.

²⁶ *Vikramāṅkadēvacarita*, IV, 30.

²⁷ *I.A.*, XLVIII, pp. 144-5.

²⁸ This king must be identified with Nripatibhūṣaṇa, whose inscription is dated 1023 A.D. See Errakotṭu Telugu inscription at Jagdalpur (*List of C. P. Inscriptions*, 2nd ed., p. 166.)

²⁹ कोमोमण्डलभूमुर्तुर्वज्जुकस्य श्रुता सुता । नोन्नह्य रत्नराजेन परिणीता नृपश्रिया ॥ *E.I.*, I, p. 22.

³⁰ नोन्नह्यया श्रिया तस्य शूरस्येव हि शूरता । कोमोमण्डलनाथस्य सुता या वज्रवर्मणः ॥ Amoda plates of Prithvideva I, *E.I.*, XIX, p. 79.

³¹ Note नोन्नह्य रत्नराजेन परिणीता नृपश्रिया ।

³² Cf. Amoda Plates of Jājalladeva II, *E.I.*, XIX, p. 209.

³³ गङ्गेयदेवविभवे समदाच्छ्रियः यः । I translate this line as above, differing from the Editor of the Amoda Plates. See *E.I.*, XIX, p. 76.

³⁴ Gāṅgeyadeva was defeated by Phoja. See Dhar Prastāvi of Arjunavarmanadeva, *E.I.*, VIII, p. 36.

with the Kalacuris of Ratanpur. We know, for instance, that Jājalladeva I of Ratanpur³⁵ and Someśvara of Cakrakotya³⁶ claim victory over each other. It is, therefore, likely that at this period also the ruling princes of the two dynasties were on inimical terms and, therefore, the Nāga chief sought the aid of Sindhurāja against Kamalarāja and his ally Vajjūka of the Komo Maṇḍala.

The identification of Vajjūka with Vajrāṅkuśa is rendered probable by the mention of the hermitage of the sage Vaṅku, which lay on the way to Ratnavatī, the capital of Vajrāṅkuśa. Dr. Bühler³⁷ proposed to connect the name Vaṅku of the sage with the geographical name Vaṅku of the Nāgpur *praśasti*, verse 54. The two have no connection whatever, for Vaṅkshu (as read by Kielhorn) mentioned in that verse of the *praśasti* is the name of a river of the north, on the banks of which, softened with filaments of saffron, the king of the Kīra country is said to have been taught to sing the praises of the Paramāra king Lakṣmaṇadeva,³⁸ while the hermitage of the sage Vaṅku was situated, as we have seen, to the south of the Narmadā. It is noteworthy that the late Prof. Kielhorn, who has edited the inscription in the *Epigraphia Indica*, followed Lassen in reading Vaṅkshu, and not Vaṅku as proposed by Dr. Bühler. I connect the name of the sage with that of the god Vaṅkeśvara, whose temple was erected in Tummāṇa before the time of Ratnadeva.³⁹ Knowing, as we do, that the names of deities are often derived from those of the individuals who erect temples in their honour,⁴⁰ it is easy to conjecture that the temple of Vaṅkeśvara may have been erected by some one named Vaṅku, and he may well have been a sage as stated in the *Navasāhasāṅkacarita*. We can at least infer that the idea of locating the hermitage of a sage named Vaṅku must have suggested itself to the poet when he heard of the temple of Vaṅkeśvara in Tummāṇa. This temple was so well-known that Tummāṇa, where it was situated, is called in one record Vaṅko-Tummāṇa.⁴¹

We know that a son of Kokkalla I of Tripurī founded a kingdom in Tummāṇa. From a remark in a charter of Jājalladeva I it appears that his descendants had to desert it after some time.⁴² It appears that towards the close of the tenth century Kaliṅgarāja, a scion of the same dynasty, again occupied Tummāṇa and made it his capital. The place was, therefore, a flourishing one in the time of Sindhurāja, and it is not surprising that the latter occupied it before marching on Ratnavatī, the capital of Vajrāṅkuśa, which must have been situated not far from it. The close similarity between the names Ratnavatī and modern Ratanpur in Chattisgadh, tempts one to identify the two. From the records of the Kalacuris of Ratanpur we know, however, that Ratanpur was founded by Ratnadeva or Ratnarāja,⁴³ the son-in-law of Vajjūka, and if this statement is correct it could not have been in existence at this period. Beglar⁴⁴ has recorded a tradition current in Ratanpur that the place was, in ancient times, called Maṇipura, which is mentioned in the *Mahābhārata* as the capital of a Nāga king by whose daughter, Chitrāṅgadā, Arjuna had a brave son named Babhruvāhana.⁴⁵ As our poet has slightly changed the names of persons and places figuring

³⁵ See Ratanpur Stone Inscription of Jājalladeva, *E.I.*, I, p. 32.

³⁶ *E.I.*, X, pp. 25 f.

³⁷ *I.A.*, XLVIII, p. 172.

³⁸ Nagpur *Praśasti*, *E.I.*, II, p. 182.

³⁹ Cf. श्रीविकेशसुरालयप्रभृतयो रत्नेश्वराद्यास्तथा । यत्रोच्चानमसङ्ख्यपुष्पसुफलं चारुचमात्रं वनम् । रत्नेशेन सत्सौधसंज्ञनिचितश्चरुश्रिया भूषितस्तुम्माणः समकारि लोचनसुखः संवीक्ष्यमाणो जनेः ॥ *E.I.*, I, p. 32.

⁴⁰ Compare, e.g., Nohaleśvara dedicated by Nohalā, the wife of Yuvarājadeva I of Tripurī.

⁴¹ त्रिपुरीशानुजस्यासीदिकोतुम्माणभूमिजः । कलिङ्गराजस्तत्सुनुरासीत् कमलाद् नृपः । A copper-plate of Ratnadeva II, *Ind. His. Quarterly* IV, p. 31.

⁴² राजधानी स तुम्माणः पूर्वजैः कृत इत्यतः । तत्रस्थोऽरिश्चयं कुर्वन् वर्द्धयामास स श्रियम् ॥ *E.I.*, I, p. 32.

⁴³ Cf. व्यापाप्यन्मां भुवि रत्नराजः श्रेष्ठीयशश्वेदपितिष्ठति स्म । वक्तीत्यदो रत्नपुरं समन्तान्मतोऽनयोर्थातु यशस्वलोकम् । *ibid.*, p. 32.

⁴⁴ *A.S.I. Cunningham's Reports*, vol. X, p. 216.

⁴⁵ Cf. *Adiparvan*, *adhyaṃ* 215. and *Āśvamedhika parvan*, *ad*, 95 (Bom. Ed.)

in his narrative, Ratnavatī in the *Navasāhasāṅkacarita* may represent ancient Manipura which received its modern name when, in the next generation, Ratnadeva transferred his capital there from Tummāṇa. Ratanpur is at a distance of about 45 miles from Tummāṇa and must have been included in the Komo Maṇḍala; the name of the latter has survived in the modern place-name Komo, which is about 30 miles north of Ratanpur. We do not know exactly the route Sindhurāja took in marching on Ratnavatī, or the place where he crossed the Narmadā. If he crossed it somewhere near Māndhātā,⁴⁶ Ratanpur would be about 200 miles distant from the river as described in Padmagupta's poem.

It now remains to say a few words about the identification of the Vidyādhara prince, Śikhaṇḍaketu, who sent his son Śasikhaṇḍa with a large army to help Sindhurāja in his campaign. As we have seen above, Arikesarin probably owed his crown to the active help of Sindhurāja. Feelings of gratitude may have induced him to send his son with military assistance. The name Śikhaṇḍaketu is evidently suggested by the other name of Arikesarin, viz., Keśideva, which occurs in the Bhāndup plates of his nephew Chittarājadeva.

Sindhurāja seems to have died soon after this expedition. He was succeeded by his son Bhoja. According to Merutuṅga, Bhoja reigned for the long period of fifty-five years. He must, therefore, have come to the throne when quite young. It seems that Arikesarin⁴⁷ also died about this period and was succeeded not by his son (that he had one is clear from the *Navasāhasāṅkacarita*), but by his nephew, Chittarājadeva, who must have usurped the throne, knowing full well that the young prince Bhoja of Dhārā would not undertake a campaign in such a distant country as Koṅkaṇa to help the son of his father's friend, Arikesarin. Subsequent events proved that Chittarāja had miscalculated; for Bhoja invaded Koṅkaṇa in 1019 A.D. and won a decisive victory, which he commemorated by issuing two copper-plates. This campaign of Bhoja, when he was scarcely out of his teens, has puzzled many scholars. Mr. C. V. Vaidya writes: "Why Bhoja fought with Koṅkaṇa in his early age does not appear (he must have been about twenty at the time) and how he went so far from his kingdom remains to be solved, though the fact of the conquest cannot be denied." Dr. D. R. Bhandarkar⁴⁸ thinks that the expedition was undertaken to avenge the murder of Muñja. This reason does not, however, appear convincing, as Muñja was murdered about 995 A.D., while the expedition took place in 1019 A.D., i.e., twenty-four years later. Even supposing that Bhoja's object was to avenge the murder of his uncle, why should he invade Koṅkaṇa? The rulers of Koṅkaṇa do not seem to have acknowledged the suzerainty of the later Cālukyas. As stated above, their copper-plates give the genealogy, not of the later Cālukyas but of the Rāṣṭrakūṭas, and express regret for their downfall. We prefer, therefore, to account for this campaign as suggested above. The Betma plates show that Bhoja occupied Koṅkaṇa for a while, and he may have placed Arikesarin's son on the throne, but the latter seems to have been soon dethroned by the Cālukya king Jayasimha III, who conquered Koṅkaṇa before 1024 A.D., evidently to place Chittarāja again on the throne. The Bhāndup plates of the latter show that he was secure on the throne in 1026 A.D.

Inscriptional evidence has thus corroborated in all important details the account of Sindhurāja's expedition in Chattisgaḍh as given in Padmagupta's *Navasāhasāṅkacarita*.

⁴⁶ It may be noted that some records of the Paramāras were issued after bathing in the Narmadā at this holy place. To the east of Māndhātā lay the country of Cedi, which Sindhurāja does not seem to have entered on this occasion.

⁴⁷ His Thana plates are dated in Śaka 939, i.e., 1017 A.D.

⁴⁸ *I.A.* XLI, p. 201.

LALLĀ-VĀKYĀNI.

(The Wise Sayings of Lāl Dēd.)

BY PANDIT ANAND KOUL, SRINAGAR, KASHMIR.

(Continued from vol. LXI, p. 16.)

In addition to those ' Wise Sayings of Lāl Dēd ' published in the Royal Asiatic Society's Monograph entitled *Lallā-Vākyāni* by Sir George Grierson and Dr. L. D. Barnett, which were rendered into English verse by the late lamented Sir R. C. Temple, Bt., I have already published in the pages of the *Indian Antiquary* (vide vols. LIX, LX and LXI) some sixty others that I managed to collect from time to time. Further research has enabled me to discover fifteen more sayings of this prophetess, which I now publish.

- (1) *Āgaray grazum ; wuga-wāney dūr sagūmo ;*
Oraki kripāyī zagat wuzum , yora ti keñk mē surum no.

I roared [like a river] at the source ; I irrigated the field with flood-water.

By the mercy of That Side (i.e., God) the world got awakened ; [yet] on my part I did not meditate on anything.

- (2) *Damiy dyūṭhum shabnam piwān ; damiy dyūṭhum piwān sūr ;*
Damiy dīṭham anighaṭa rātas, damiy dyūṭhum dokas nūr ;
Damiy āsas lokat korā ; damiy sapanis jawānā pūr ;
Damiy āsas pherān thorān ; damiy sapanis dazit sūr.

At one time I saw dew falling ; at another time I saw hoar-frost falling ;

At one time I saw the darkness of night ; at another time I saw the light of the day ;

At one time I was a young girl ; at another time I was a full-grown damsel ;

At one time I was moving about ; at another time I was burned to ashes.

[The meaning is that nothing lasts in this transitory world.]

- (3) *Kawa chuk diwān aniney batsk ?*
Truk ay chuk ta andaray atsh.
Shiva chuy ati tay kun mo gatsk ;
Sabaza ! kathī myāni karto patsh.

Why art thou feeling with thy hand like a blind person ?

If thou art wise get inside.

Śiva is there ; do not go anywhere else ;

Friend ! put thy trust in my word.

- (4) *Kus, ha māli ! lūsuy na pakān pakān ?*
Kus, ha māli ! lūsuy na wulgān Sumeru ?
Kus, ha māli ! lūsuy na marān ta zēwān ?
Kus, ha māli ! lūsuy na karān nindā ?
Zal, ha māli ! lūsuy na pakān pakān.
Surya lūsuy na wulgān Sumeru.
Tsandrama lūsuy na marān ta zēwān.
Manosh lūsuy na karān nindā.

Who, O father ! is not tired of going [and] going ?

Who, O father ! is not tired of going round Sumeru ?

Who, O father ! is not tired of dying and being reborn ?

Who, O father ! is not tired of backbiting ?

Water [in a river] is not tired of going [and] going (i.e., flowing perpetually).

The sun is not tired of going round Sumeru.

The moon is not tired of dying and being reborn (i.e., of waning and waxing).

Man is not tired of backbiting.

- (5) *Lal bu drāyas dorey dorey*
Quluf thavit wachas ;
Yus nun nerey su phut krerey ;
Khyun diyton Yachas !

I, Lallâ, wandered from lane to lane

With breast locked up (i.e., silent) :

Whoever showed himself got drowned in a well :

Let him be devoured by a Yaksha !

- (6) *Na pyāyas ta na zāyas,*
Na khēyam hand na shonṭh.
Shan chas pata tay
Satan chas bronṭh.

I neither gave birth to a child nor was I born :

I neither ate endive nor ginger.

I am behind six [enemies, namely, lust, wrath, desire, arrogance, delusion and jealousy].

Ahead of truthful persons.

- (7) *Ora ti Pānay, yora ti Pānay :*
Patay wānay rozi na zāh.
Pānay Gupt ta Pānay Gyānīy ;
Pānay Pānas mūd na zāh

That side He (i.e., God) is Himself ; this side, too, He is Himself .

He never remained behind.

He is Himself Invisible and Himself Omniscient ;

He never died to Himself (i.e., is Everlasting and Omnipotent)

- (8) *Ora ti Pānay ; yora ti Pānay ;*
Pānay Pānas chu na mclān.
Pratham atsēs na muley dānay :
Suy, ha māli ! chay āshcar zān.

That side He is Himself ; this side (i.e., as man) he is Himself ;

He Himself (as man) does not join with Himself.

In the first place not even a grain will penetrate into Him (He being so infinitesimal) :

That is, O father ! a wonderful knowledge.

- (9) *Sat-sangay pavitra dhorum ;*
Navi sati rūzas trapurit bar ;
Dashi dashamiy durār prazalovum ;
Ikādashi tsandramas karam lay.

*Dwādashī mandala dēh shamrovum,
 Triyodashī tribeniy nāvam kāy,
 Tsaturdashī tsudāh bhavan shamāvum,
 Purna-pantsadashī tsandran karum uday.
 Akdoh bhogiy pān sandārum.
 Rasati rūzas kalpan trāvit—
 Suy. ha mali ! karam puttēn pāz.*

By association with the good I tied on the *kuśa* grass [for the purification of my finger] ;

On the ninth [day] I truly stayed with doors closed ;
 On the tenth I lit the tenth house,
 On the eleventh I made acquaintance with the moon ;
 On the twelfth disc I subdued my body ;
 On the thirteenth I washed my body at the confluence of three rivers ;
 On the fourteenth I subdued fourteen worlds ;
 On the fifteenth I found the moon rise ;
 On the first I gave sustenance to myself.
 I peacefully remained with cares cast away—
 That, O father ! was my worship of idols.¹

- (10) *Treshī buchī mo kreshanāwun ;
 Yāni tshiy tāni sandhārun dēh.
 Phrit cānis dhārun ta pārun ?
 Kar upakārun suy chay kriy.*

Do not make thyself crave [for water and food] by thirst and hunger ;
 As soon as thou becomest depressed, refresh thyself.
 Fie upon thy fasting and the breaking of thy fast !
 Do good to others, *that* is thy duty.

- (11) *Tsālun chu wuzamala ta traḥay ;
 Tsālun chu mendinēn ghaḥakār ;
 Tsālun chu pān panun kaḍun graḥay—
 Hēta, māli, santosh ; wāti pānay.*

To endure is lightning and thunderbolt ;
 To endure is darkness at midday ;
 To endure is to sift one's self through a grinding-mill—
 Be, O father ! content ; (what is destined to come) will come of itself.

- (12) *Tsay, Deva, gartas ta dhartiy srazak ;
 Tsay, Deva, ditit kranzan prān ;
 Tsay, Deva, ṭhani rustuy wazak.
 Kus zāni, Deva, con parimān ?*

Thou, O Lord ! pervadest the whole as well as the universe ;
 Thou, O Lord ! gavest life to bodies ;
 Thou, O Lord ! ringest without pealing.
 Who can, O Lord ! know thy proportions ?

¹ In this saying Lallā speaks of different stages reached within herself while practising *yoga* on successive days.

- (13) *Umay ādi tay Umay surum ;*
Umay thurum panun pān.
Anit trāvit Nit ay bhāsum ;
Tavay provum Paramsthān.

The syllable *Om* is the beginning, and I meditated on *Om* ;
 I made myself with *Om*.
 Having left the perishable [body], I found the Imperishable (God) :
 By doing that I attained the Supreme Abode.

- (14) *Yati buh gayis tati ol Suk ;*
Tati dyūthum Mol Suk.
Kanan tshanit wol Suk ;
Suk tay Suk, Suk tay Suk ;
Suy Suk, tay buh kusah.

Where I went there He is ;
 There I saw That Father (God).
 He has got rings in His ears ;
 He and He, He and He ;
 He is He, and who am I ?

- (15) *Zanam prāvit viboh na tshodum ;*
Loban, bhogan bharam na priy ;
Sumuy āhār sethā zonum ;
Tsolum dukh, wāv, polum Day.

Having taken birth, I searched not aggrandisement ;
 Desires [and] enjoyments I liked not ;
 I considered moderate food enough ;
 I bore pain [and] poverty. [and] worshipped God.

RANDOM NOTES ON THE TRIVANDRUM PLAYS.

By E. H. JOHNSTON, D.LITT.

(Continued from p. 99, *supra*.)

II.

In the following notes I quote in full the passage discussed and as a rule Professors Woolner and Sarup's translation, taking the plays in the order in which they appear in the latter.

Pratijñāyugandharāyana, Act i, p. 13. *Hamsakah* — *Tado paccādappanam dāni bhat-tāram pekkhā aṇeṇa mama bhādā hado, aṇeṇa mama pidā, aṇeṇa mama sudo, mama vaassa tti aṇṇahā bhattiṇo parakkamam vaṇṇaantā savvado abhiddudā de pāvā.*

A famous passage, and one of the very few where the translators have gone palpably wrong. The point lies in the use of *anyathā* in the sense of 'falsely,' for which there is plenty of authority. An amusing play on the double meaning occurs in *Mattavilāsa*, p. 7 : Deva-somā objects to the Kapālin's description of the road to salvation, *Bhaavam nam takā bhāni-davvam. Aghante mokkhamaggaṃ aṇṇahā vaṇṇaanti*, 'The saints describe the road to salvation differently.' The Kapālin deliberately takes her to mean *aṇṇahā* in the sense of 'falsely' and replies, *Bhadre te khaḍu mithyādr̥ṣṭayah*, 'Quite so, my dear, their views are wrong.' The meaning of the passage above is that the wretches ran up on all sides towards the king, misrepresenting his valour by saying, 'He murdered my brother,' etc.

Ib., Act iii, p. 47. The Vidûṣaka says he has seen the king in prison. The scene proceeds :—

Yaug.—*Hanta bhoḥ. Atikrāntayogakṣemā rātriḥ. Divasa idānīm pratipālyate.*

Ahaḥ samuttīrya niśā pratikṣyate

śubhe prabhāte divaso 'nucintyate |

Anāgatārthāny aśubhāni paśyatām

gataṁ gataṁ kālam avekṣya nirvṛtiḥ ||

Rum.—*Samyag bhavān āha. Tulye 'pi kālaviśeṣe niśaiva bahudoṣā bandhaneṣu. Kutah,*

Vyavahāreṣv asādhyānām loke vāpratirajyatām |

Prabhāte dṛṣtadoṣānām vairiṇām rajanī bhayam ||

Tr., I, 25. 'Yaug.—Alas ! There is no security at night. Now we must wait for the day.

When the day is over, we look for the night : When the dawn is bright, we look forward to the day. Our satisfaction to see time ever passing, must see in troubles the advantages that are to come.

Rum.—Well said. Though time is all alike, the night is full of obstructions. For

The night is a terror to foes who cannot succeed in their enterprises, or are unpopular in the world and find out their error in the morning.'

The translators suggest that this enigmatic passage is out of place and should come at the end of the act, but there is no obvious place to insert it there, and I think it can be so understood as to fit in here, remembering that it comes after a long passage in which the three disguised characters have been speaking in elaborate riddles, which were ingeniously explained by Ganapati Sastri, so as not to be understood by casual hearers. The editor's gloss on this passage is far from clear to me, but I accept his interpretation of some of the words. The time is in the early afternoon and the reference to night and day must therefore be understood to be metaphorical ; by 'night' I take Yaugandharāyaṇa to refer to the time during which the conspirators have been lying in concealment without seeing the king, who has all the time been in great danger of his life. The compound *atikrāntayogakṣemā* is difficult, and I can find no analogy to the translators' construction of it. If the text is not corrupt (e.g., it would be easier to read *atikrāntā sayogakṣemaṁ rātriḥ*), it would seem preferable to take *atikrānta* in the same sense as in *atikrāntavivraha* in Act ii, p. 36, lit. 'the night has its security in the past,' i.e., 'is safely over.' Similarly the 'day' is the time for action and *pratipālyate* should be understood as parallel with *pratikṣyate* and *anucintyate* in the verse ; that is, 'the time for action is now awaited' means 'we must think about action now.' *Hanta* then can be taken in its ordinary acceptation, not in the rare sense of 'Alas !' To put it in plain language, the minister says, 'Up, my friends ; our time of concealment and worst danger is over and the king is still safe. So far so good ; now we must consider our plans of action.' This provides the cue for his next speeches, in which he questions Vasantaka about the king's state, in order to ascertain the possibilities of the situation.

If this interpretation is correct, the verse should agree in sentiment. *Samuttīrya* implies passing successfully and *anucint* does not mean 'look forward to,' but 'ponder on.' The drift of the first hemistich is : after one has passed the day successfully, i.e., had a period of fortune, one expects the night, a time of danger and difficulty ; when the dawn comes without the danger having materialised (*śubha*), one takes thought for the day, i.e., as it is the period of action, plans are to be made for action then. In the second half the troublesome word is *anāgatārtha*, where I think *artha* must mean 'occasion,' i.e., 'whose occasions are still in the future.' Translate therefore, 'To those, who foresee evils in the womb of the future, to observe the mere passing of time (without the evils being realised) is in itself bliss.'

Rumanvat, who is an honest, thickheaded fighting man, is naturally all at sea with this, hard saying and, taking it literally, comments, 'Quite true. To people in prison, though

all time is alike to them, the night in particular is full of danger.' *Doṣa* in the sense of 'danger,' 'evil consequence,' is well authenticated and occurs twice more in this play and not infrequently in the *Buddhacarita*; there may be a pun also, *bahudoṣā*, 'very dark.' The following verse must be so explained as to illustrate this statement. In the first place *vairin* does not mean exactly 'foe,' but a 'man who has an enmity or feud with someone else'; thus *DC*, i, 6, *nirvairā vimukhībhaveṇī suhrdaḥ*, 'without cause of enmity, etc.,' and *Dhūrtavīṭasamvāda*, p. 11, *pārthivānām . . . anyonyabaddhavaīrānām*. The second line therefore means, 'The night is dangerous to men who have a feud with anyone else, since by daylight they can see (and avoid) sources of trouble.' The first line then defines the daylight dangers which they can avoid. *Vyavahāra* means here not 'enterprise' but 'lawsuit,' and *asādhya*, which surely cannot have an active meaning, is used in the pejorative sense of *sādhya* so common in the *Kauṣ.* *Arthasāstra* (see Meyer's translation, p. 528, n. 5); cf. also *Dūtaḥṭakoca*, 51, *pāruṣyasādhya*, and *Saundarananda*, ix, 13, *māntrasādhya*. The English equivalent is hard to find, 'do down,' 'remove from one's path,' 'ruin,' etc. *Apratirajyatām* is difficult, for *raj* does not occur with *prati* according to the *PW* except once in the causative and in any case it must mean, not 'unpopular,' but 'who take no pleasure in.' One could divide *vā prati*°, but in either case it is not clear to me how by taking or not taking pleasure in the world one avoids the danger of a vendetta. °*Rajyatām* is the editor's emendation for °*rajatām* and I would prefer the conjecture, equally good palæographically, of *vā pratirājatām*: even so the *PW* gives only one reference for *rāj* with *prati*. It is notoriously dangerous to kill prominent people openly for fear of causing disaffection. The first line therefore means that daylight dangers do not trouble men 'who are not to be worsted in the law-courts or who stand much in the world's eye.'

The passage is one of great difficulty and certainty is impossible, but I think my construction of it keeps closer to ordinary Sanskrit usage and fits the context exactly.

Ib., Act iv, p. 62. *Nirodhamuktā iva kṛṣṇasarpāḥ*.

Tr., I, p. 30. 'Like snakes that have just sloughed their skins.'

I can find no authority for the use of *nirodha* in the sense of 'snake's skin' and do not see why it should not be taken in the ordinary meaning of 'confinement' (cf. iv, 10, and 12 in this play). Snakes when captured are put in a pot and often show signs of great activity, if let loose. Once I had the fortune to be present when a party of Nats brought in a number of snakes in chatties for despatch to Kasauli, and to witness their transfer from the pots to a travelling box; a ticklish operation when a lively hamadryad (king cobra) was in question, who for two hours kept attacking all the operators, before he could be boxed. This experience is apposite; for *kṛṣṇasarpa* apparently can only indicate a hamadryad. The confining of snakes in pots is an old Indian custom, referred to at *Saundarananda*, xv, 56 (cf. *ib.*, ix, 12, and note thereon in my translation). These last passages refer to the activity and wrathfulness of snakes in such circumstances, and make my explanation of the simile more probable.

Svapnavāsavadatta, iv, p. 36. *Vidūṣakaḥ — (ūrdhvam avalokya) hī hī saraakūlaṇimale antarikkhe pasādiabaladevabāhudaṁsaṇām sarasapantiṁ jāva samāhidaṁ gacchantiṁ pekkhadu dāva bhavaṁ*.

Ganapati Sastri's later edition for students is not available to me, but I find that later Indian editions read *pasādiabaladeva*° and the translators accept this text, I, 53:—'Jester.—(Looking up) Oh, look, your Highness! Do you see this line of cranes advancing steadily along the clear autumn sky, as beautiful as the long white arms of the adored Baladeva?'

It will be noted that the words 'long white' are added by the translators to make the comparison clear. Now this passage is clearly a reference to *Saundarananda*, x, 8:—

*Bhūvāyate tatra site hī śrṅge
sankṣiptabarhaḥ śagito mayirah |*

*Bhūje Balasyāyatapīnabāhor
vaidūryakeyūra iva babhāse ||*

That it is put into the mouth of the Vidūṣaka shows that Bhāsa is criticizing (with justice, be it said) Āsvaghosa's comparison as a frigid conceit. This verse contains the word *āyata* twice and, as the translation shows, we want in the *SV* some word meaning 'long,' 'outstretched,' to make the comparison clear. Further *pasādia*° (*prasādita*°) seems to me very odd in the context, and I think therefore that Ganapati Sastri was on the right lines when he gave *prasārīta* as the *chāyā* for *pasādia* in the original edition. Only his text wants correction to *pasārīda*°; this is the word always used for outstretched arms. The curious position of the participle in the compound may well have puzzled the copyist and led to an emendation.

Bhāsa refers quite clearly twice elsewhere to Āsvaghosa's poems, viz., at *PY*, i, 18, to *Buddhacarita*, xiii, 60 (cf. *Saundarananda*, xvi, 97), as pointed out by Ganapati Sastri, and in the well-known verse quoted from the *SV* by Abhinavagupta, the place of which has now been determined (Thomas, *JRAS*, 1928, 887 ff.), to *Buddhacarita*, i, 79, as pointed out by Morgenstierne (*Über das Verhältnis zwischen Cārudatta und Mṛcchakaṭikā*, p. 14, n. 2). The latter comparison proves that *taḍanena* is correct in the Bhāsa verse, for it=Āsvaghosa's °*iādena*, the exact meaning of which I shall discuss in the edition of the *Buddhacarita* which I hope to bring out in due course. There are several passages in the other plays, particularly in the *DC*, which recall Āsvaghosa, but the ideas and forms of expression are found too often elsewhere to be safe evidence of direct allusion to the Buddhist poet.

This passage of the *SV* illustrates Bhāsa's fondness for subtle allusion and shows that he relied on the education and quick wits of his audience to take up the point at once. Another, not obvious, joke is to be found at the beginning of Act iv, p. 29 (tr., I, 51), when the Vidūṣaka says he is so well off in the palace of the king of Magadha that he might be experiencing all the joys of *anaccharasaṁvāso Uttarakuruvaso*. It is true that the land of the Uttarakurus is an earthly paradise, famed for its pleasures of the table and of love, but the jester has mixed up his mythology. The Apsarases live among the gods in Paradise, not among the Uttarakurus, who have their own special women.

Daṇḍracārudatta, Act ii, p. 45. *Cetaḥ - Haṁ, vippladdho hmi, vādāṇaṇikkhāmidapuvakāāe oṇamiapaoharāe kaṇṇaūrassa paripphando aḷḷuē jeṇa na dīṭṭho.*

Gaṇikā - Lahujanassa sulaho vihmao. kim de usseassa kāraṇaṁ.

Tr., I, p. 88. 'Page.—Oh, I am so disappointed that my mistress did not see Kaṇṇapūra's valiant deed. If only she had seen, leaning forward from the casement with bosom bowed . . .

Courtesan.—Feather-headed people are easily amazed. What is the cause of your excitement?'

This translation follows the indication afforded by the *Mṛcchakaṭikā*, which gives the page's name as Kaṇṇapūra, but seems to me to miss the point. In the first place the meaning 'valiant deed' for *parispanda* is based on a passage in the *Pañcarātra*, which I explain below, and is opposed to the regular use of the word. As it is not adequately dealt with in the dictionaries, a few quotations of its use may be made. It is specially used in philosophical works, replacing the earlier *vispanda*, which means 'activity,' 'movement.' The latter is only found in Buddhist sources, e.g., in Pali, *Dīgha*, I, 40, *paritasitavipphanditaṁ, Atthasālinī*, 323, and *Visuddhimagga*, 448, *kāyavipphandana*, and in Buddhist Sanskrit, *Buddhacarita*, xiv, 22, *karmabhiḥ . . . cittavispandasambhavaiḥ, Jātakamālā* v 18. *svabuddhivispandasamāhitena . . . karmaṇā*, and xxvi, 40, *manovākkāyavispandaiḥ, Śatasahasrikāprajñāpāramitā*, 67, *sarvasattvacittacaritavispanditāni, Mūlamadhyamakakārikās*, 307, l. 10, *vispandaḥ śarīraceṣṭā*. The MBh. substitutes *nispanda* for it at xii, 12704 and 12780. Later *parispanda* took its place and is used as a synonym for *kriyā* in the Vaiśeṣika sense, but limited to the mental or physical motion of an individual. Thus Vācaspati Miśra on *Yogasūtra*, i, 9, denies

parispanda to *puruṣa*, and on *Sāmkhyakārikā*, 10, defines *sakriyam* as *parispandavat* : similarly Kumārila in the *Ātmaśāstra* section, 74 ff., of the *Ślokavārttika*. The later Buddhist philosophers do the same ; e.g., *Triṃśikā*, p. 32, l. 21, *cetanāyās cittapariśpandātmakatvāt*, and *Abhidharmakośa*, vol. V, 280, n. 2, *parispandam akurvad api*. These quotations prove that *parispanda* does not mean an actual deed, but a movement of the body or mind, activity or motion, *kriyā*, as opposed to act, *karma*. Therefore when *PR*, Act ii, p. 32 (tr., I, 128), has *dr̥ṣṭaparispandānām yodhapuruṣāṇām karmāṇi*, we must translate 'the deeds of the warriors whose activity has been witnessed.'

It is not justifiable to assign any meaning here to *parispanda*, which is not consistent with this range of meanings, but we are forced to do so if *Karṇapūra* is a proper name. But need it be so ? It does not occur again in the *DC*, and if it were not for the later play, surely we should all construe, 'Oh, I am disappointed that I did not see (lit. by whom was not seen) the shaking of my mistress's ear-ornament, as she leant, etc.' He kills two birds with one stone, by implying, not only how much he has lost by his mistress's not seeing him, but also how excited she would have been to see him. This translation gives a more natural sense to *yena* and one might compare *Pratimānātaka*, iv, 22, *yena . . na dr̥ṣṭaḥ*. Śūdraka's version, which spoils the point by reproducing the second intention only of the page, has also the same construction, *vancidā si jāe ajja karṇāuraassa parakkamo na dīṭṭho*. Though there seems to me no reasonable doubt of the correctness of my rendering, the explanation is incomplete unless we can account for the change in the *Mrcchakaṭikā*. It is perhaps significant that *Avi.*, Act iii, p. 34, has the term *karṇāūraceda* (MSS. *karṇeura*°) for a 'harem servant' and that *karṇeura* is a variant reading of the passage under discussion. Possibly in Śūdraka's text of the *DC* *karṇāūrassa* had been corrupted to *karṇāuraassa*, which might be understood as equivalent to *karṇāūraceda*, and he may have objected to giving a courtesan's servant such a title and therefore turned it into a fanciful proper name. The *Mrcchakaṭikā* does not always darken counsel as here, but is sometimes able to suggest a correction of the *DC*'s text. Thus, following Filippo-Belloni (*Festgabe Jacobi*, 133), at Act iii, p. 57, where the MSS. offer the alternative readings, *bhūṣyam* and *draṣṭavyam*, the two should be combined on the authority of the later play to *bhūmiṣṭhaṁ dravyam*. Again at Act i, p. 18, *Vasanta-senā* says it is specially dark by the side-door *asambhoamaṇinadāe*, which can only mean 'because it is dirty (obscure ?) from lack of use.' Probably however it is corrupt, the phrase recurring in a more natural sense at Act iv, p. 84, and being transferred here by error. Śūdraka has altered the sentence somewhat, but I infer from his reading that his text of the *DC* had *asambhoamaṇinadāe*, 'because it is dark where there is a break in the wall (for the door).' The wall would be white and the door would make a darker patch in the night.

The grandiloquent terms of the servant's speech suggest that the author is taking off a similar description in some *kāvya*, such as *Saundarananda*, vi, 2, *sā . . . gavākṣam ākramya payodharābhyām . . . harṃyatalāl lalambe mukhena tiryāṇṇatakunḍalena*, or cf. *Dhūrtavīṭasaṁvāda*, p. 5, l. 11. Probably such a description was a commonplace in *kāvya* and we can hardly identify any particular original now. It is the inappropriateness of such language in the servant's mouth that determines the tenor of the courtesan's reply. *Vismaya* means 'arrogance,' and the sense is, 'Feather-headed people soon get bumptious. What's the reason for your highfaluting (or bombast) ?'

Ib., Act iii, 6. Sajjalaka defending theft says :—

*Kāmaṁ nīcam idaṁ vadantu vibudhāḥ supṭeṣu yaḍ vartate
viśvasteṣu hi vañcanāparibhavaḥ śauryam na kārkaṣyatā |
Svādhīnā vacanīyatāpi tu varam baddho na sevāñjalir
mārgaś caiṣa narendrasuptikavadhe pūrvam kṛto Drauṇinā ||*

Tr., I, 91 :—

'Let the wiseacres call it low, this business when folks are asleep, for the shame of cheating those that are trustful comes from daring, not cruelty. Independence though of ill

report is better far than the folded hands of servility. This was the road that was taken of old by Droṇa's son when he slew the sleeping kings.'

Two of the words require some explanation. *Paribhava*, 'shame,' is hardly possible, the proper meaning being 'contempt,' 'insult.' I would prefer to take it to the earlier use of *paribhū*, not uncommon in the epics and occurring in this very play at iii, 4, in the sense of 'master,' 'get the better of.' *Paribhava* is not recorded in this sense, except possibly at *Saptaśataka* (ed. Weber), 366, but there is no reason why it should not have it. The compound therefore should mean 'getting the better of by deceitful means.' *Kārkaśyatā* is an odd form; the meaning of 'cruel' for *karkaśa* only appears in the later lexica and is due apparently to a misunderstanding of the statement that *krūra* and *karkaśa* are both synonyms for 'hard' (e.g., cf. the *Amarakośa*). The proper meaning is 'firm,' 'hard'; in the *Rāmāyaṇa* it often signifies 'steadfast' in battle, and it is common later, especially in erotic literature, of the firmness of women's bodies or the hardness of their minds. One possible meaning here is therefore 'hardness of mind,' 'insensibility to moral issues,' and *atikarkaśa* is so used in the next verse. The alternative is to apply the *Amarakośa*'s synonym of *sāhasika*, 'one who does deeds of violence,' more particularly 'a robber' as opposed to a thief, who avoids violence (cf. Meyer's translation of the *Kauṭ. Arthasāstra*, p. 801, note on 303, 37). Sajjalaka calls his theft *sāhasa* in the next act, p. 74, and *sāhasika*, Act ii, p. 37, means 'robber.'

Turning now to the construction, I see only one way of interpreting the verse, as it stands; for I agree with the translators in rejecting Ganapati Sastri and Morgenstierne's solution of construing *śauryaṃ na bhavati, kārkaśyatā bhavati*. The construction with *kāmam* is unusually frequent in this play, occurring twice again, at i, 13, without any corresponding particle in the main sentence, and at i, 18, where *hi* introduces the main sentence. If Śūdraka's text read *hi* in this latter passage, he found it difficult, for his corresponding verse reads *tu*. *Hi* may govern the whole sentence, i.e., 'Vasantasenā, you are perceived now; for, although you are not seen in the dark . . . , your perfume . . . will betray you.' Alternatively it may be taken as introducing the speaker's asseveration against somebody else's belief or argument, a usage not uncommon in the dialogue of plays, but generally coupled with *tena* and never elsewhere following *kāmam*, i.e., 'though (you think) you are not seen in the dark . . . , (I say) your perfume, etc.' This would do here, 'although the wiseacres call it . . . , I say it is heroism, not violence.' In the other plays *PN*, iii, 5, has the regular *kāmam* . . . *tu*, but *Dūtāghaṭṭakā*, 14, *kāmam* . . . *hi*, unfortunately in a verse, the sense of which in its context is not clear to me (the difficulty lies in *tulyarūpam*, whose equivalence to *yuktarūpam*, as suggested by the editor, is impossible in itself and reduces the verse to nonsense).

But I regard this method of interpreting the verse as doubtful, and it has the disadvantage of not explaining *tu* in the third *pāda*, while the fourth *pāda* follows clumsily on the third, being rather an illustration of the proposition contained in the second. Accordingly I would suggest that the second and third *pādas* have been transposed. This must have happened at a very early date; for Śūdraka, whose alterations of the verse shows that he felt the same difficulties in it that we do, has the same order as the text of the *DC*. With this slight change the whole verse falls into order and is entirely free from objection. The translation would run, 'Let the wiseacres, if they like, tell us this sort of behaviour to folks asleep is a low affair, yet independence though of ill report is far better than the folded hands of servility. For getting the better of the trustful by deceitful means is heroism, not unjustifiable violence, and this was the road the son of Droṇa took when he slew the sleeping kings.' Another, but perhaps inferior, alternative is to amend the second *pāda* so as to make it a parenthetical explanation of the opinion of the *vibudhāḥ* in the first *pāda*. Thus the reading might conceivably be *viśvaste hi na*, etc., 'let the wiseacres call it low, on the score that getting the better of the trustful by deceitful means is not merely not heroism, but has not even

the merit of violence (or, firmness of mind ?).’ Theft is not heroism ; it does not even postulate the possession of the personal qualities required for robbery and is therefore low. Śūdraka may have had some such reading ; for he modifies the second *pāda* so as to give it this effect (. . . *cauryam na śauryam hi tat*), while getting rid of the dubious *kārkaśyatā*. The standard text of his play spoils the effect of this by substituting, in the third *pāda*, *hi* for *tu*, which is required to counterbalance *kāmam*, but improves the fourth by reading *mārgo hy eṣa*. If we carry out the transposition I propose, this latter amendment is unnecessary.

Ib., Act iii, p. 56. The Vidūṣaka says he cannot go to sleep, *kattavvakarittikidasamkedo via sakkiasamaṇao*. This was conjecturally amended later by Ganapati Sastri to *kattavvakaratthikidasamkelo*, etc., accepted by the translators, tr., I, 92, ‘A Buddhist monk that’s made an assignation with a servant girl.’

Kartavyakarastrī=paricārikā is highly improbable and a knowledge of Buddhism would have shown that the conjecture was entirely unnecessary. The reference is to the practice known as *jāgarikā* (see Rhys Davids—Stede’s *Pali Dictionary* s.v.), keeping awake at night to induce mystic meditation, of which a clear account will be found at *Saundarananda*, xiv, 20 ff. *Kattabbaka* in Pali means the task an aspirant has to perform to become an Arhat (*Theragāthā*, 330) and is the equivalent of *karaṇīya* in the formula of Arhatship. *Samketa* is properly either ‘a characteristic trait’ (*Mahāvastu*, I, 78, l. 10, cf. note) or is a synonym of *vyavahāra* and *saṃvṛti*, ‘truth as seen by ordinary men,’ ‘worldly usage’ (*Mūlamadhyamakakārikās*, 28, n. 1, and 492, l. 11, and *Mahāvīryūtpatti*).¹ In classical Sanskrit *riktīkr* is rare and late (*PW* and Schmidt’s *Nachträge*) ; but Buddhist tradition understood the root *ric* to mean ‘purify’ (*Mahāvastu*, I, 531), and *ritta* in Pali means ‘emancipated’ (*Suttanipāta*, 823). The phrase is deliberately perhaps a bit of a jumble to make fun of the Vidūṣaka, but the literal translation is, ‘like a Buddhist monk who has been emancipated from worldly knowledge by following the path to Arhatship,’ namely by practising *jāgarikā*. The passage helps to date the play as early, because it indicates a time when the Hinayāna was still flourishing and familiarity with its practices could be presumed in a non-Buddhist audience. Like several others, it also shows that it is dangerous to take the words *śramaṇa* and *bhikṣu* in a non-Buddhist work as necessarily referring to Buddhist monks, unless qualified by *Śākyā* or a similar word, or to assume that any reference to Buddhist mendicants can only be depreciatory.

Ib., Act iv, p. 79. The Vidūṣaka, describing the glories of Vasantasenā’s house, says *nānāpaṭṭaṇasamāgadehi āāmichī puttāā vāianti*. Tr., I, p. 100, ‘Visitors from various towns are busy reading,’ following Ganapati Sastri’s *chāyā* of *pustakāh*.

Āgāmika is a difficult word ; the editor took it to be *āgama* and glossed *śāstrajña*, which seems entirely out of the question. The translators (like Filippo-Belloni *l.c.*) take it as equivalent to *āgantuka*. The only authenticated meaning is ‘relating to the future’ ; could it therefore mean ‘fortune-teller’ here, the same as *ādeśika* ? But *paṭṭana* (or *pattana*) is perhaps significant, for it means a big ‘commercial centre,’ ‘mart,’ from which trade radiates. Thus *āgāmika* might be a name for travelling traders and this gives point to Dr. Morgenstierne’s comparison with the description of a similar palace in the *Bṛhatkathāśloka-samgraha*, x, 99-102, where Gomukha’s passage through the numerous courtyards is obstructed by the various craftsmen pressing the virtues of their wares on him. The question then arises what to make of *puttāā*. Substantial amendment is impossible, since Śūdraka’s *addha-vācido* . . . *pothao* in his much elaborated version proves that he understood *pustaka* here. This last is a rather late loan-word, introduced perhaps by Iranian-speaking invaders about the beginning of our era, and the earliest occurrence in literature is apparently in *Kaṭh. Arthasāstra*, ii, 7, in the sense of ‘ledger,’ ‘register.’ Are we to understand traders dictating the writing up of their ledgers ? But this is hardly general enough for a very brief description, though it might well find a place in a more elaborate one. Moreover it demands the amendment *putthāā* or *pothāā*. If we adhere to the text, we could understand *putrakā*,

¹ Accept preferably the explanation at *Abhidharmakośa*, vol. V, 260, n. 2.

which could only mean 'puppets.' Such a reference would be very interesting, but again is hardly probable. There is however another alternative and that is to refer it to the Prakrit word *potta*, meaning 'clothes' at Jacobi's *Ausgewählte Erzählungen*, 31, 8, and *Karpūramañjarī*, i, 27, which would be spelt *putta* in the DC's Prakrit; *potti* is used in the former work, 39, 30, for 'bathing wrap,' like Hindi *potiā*. This seems to me to give the best solution, though it involves the admission that Śūdraka, if he read *puttāi*, understood *put-thāi*. I would translate, 'Travelling merchants from the various marts are advertising their cloths.'

Kaṇabhāra, 15. Of galloping horses, suddenly stopping, *utkaṇastimitāñcitākṣivalita-grīvārpitāgrānāḥ*. The editor suggests *akṣa* for *akṣi* and the translators follow this and render, II, 37, 'They prick their ears and slightly arch their necks, strung with beads, and rub them with their muzzles.'

But is it necessary or right to amend? The *PW* quotes two instances of *añcita* applied to the eyes from the *MBh.* and, to judge from Mallinātha on *Raghuvamśa*, v, 76, it simply means 'bright,' 'beautiful,' a development perhaps from phrases such as *bhrūbhedañcitālocana* at *Dhūrtavilāsaśmṛdā*, 12, 1, 14. *Stimīta* also surely requires the retention of *akṣi*. I understand the compound to mean, 'With ears pricked, bright eyes fixed, and muzzles resting on their arched necks.' They do not rub their necks, but are holding them well-arched, as if suddenly pulled up, or like horses with a bearing-rein.

Avimāraka, Act v, 5. *Avimāraka*, reproving the *Vidūṣaka* for making fun of him, says:—

*Na te na buddhir mama dūṣaṇīyā
yena prakāman bhavatāsmi hāsyakḥ |*

Tr., II, 97, 'No blame to me and none to thee, if I should make thee laugh.'

Surely *na . . na* is a strong affirmative used ironically, as at *PY*, Act i, p. 9, in Rumaṇvat's remark to Udayana to dissuade him from attempting to catch the fatal elephant, *na hu de elāvaṇādīṇaṁ vi disāgaṇaṁ gahanaṁ na sambhāvaṇaṁ*, not (tr., I, 10) 'Quite possibly you might catch, etc., but 'Of course you could catch, etc.' This outspoken remark of the blunt soldier is commented on by Yaugandharāyaṇa in his next speech. This hemistich also illustrates the rule when gerundives take the genitive of the agent and when the instrumental (Speijer, *Sanskrit Syntax*, § 66 Remark). I would translate, 'Of course it is right for you to disparage my intelligence, so that I am to be laughed at by you as much as you like.'

The rule should be applied in two other passages. At *PV*, Act i, 31, *cīramātrottariyāṇāṁ kiṁ drśyaṁ vanavāsīnāṁ*, the translation (I, 166), 'Those who dwell in forests clad in coats of bark need see nobody,' presupposes the instrumental (and the emendation, *ko drśyo*?). The meaning, as the context shows, can only be, 'Those who dwell in forests clad in coats of bark have nothing worth looking at (by others)'; this brings out the point of the coats of bark as opposed to the ordinary gorgeous attire of princes. Similarly *Bālacarita*, Act i, 28, runs:—

*Kāryāṇy akāryāṇy a . . marāṇāṁ
teṣāṁ bhaviṣyanti balāni loka |*

The translation (II, 129), following the editor's conjecture of *akhilāmarāṇāṁ* for the missing letters, has, 'The deeds of all immortals, good deeds and bad, will be forces in the world through thee.' This is ingenious, but is defective as affording no application to the next hemistich, which asks Kṛṣṇa to display his powers by making himself light so as to be easy to carry. Palaeographically one would expect that the first *pāda* should end *aparāmarāṇāṁ*, the likeness of the two syllables accounting for the omission, and the acceptance of this conjecture facilitates the translation. For, applying Speijer's rule and noting the references in the *PW* for *akārya* with the genitive (under *akārya a*) and for *kārya* with the instrumental (under *kārya la*), we get a rendering which is more natural and fits in admirably with the context, namely, 'The manifestations of power in the world, which are beyond the competence of the other immortals, shall be performable by thee'. Kṛṣṇa is then adjured to begin manifesting his powers at once.

MISCELLANEA.

SOME NOTES ON NAMES IN HINDU GEOGRAPHY.

1. Alipura of Gupta History.

On the situation of Alipura of Gupta history (cf. *JBORS.*, XVIII, 29) we have a Purāṇik piece of evidence to help us to locate it in Madra-deśa. The *Vāyu Purāṇa*, which closes its historical review at about 348 or 350 A.D.,¹ is a Gupta work. In its chapter on the geography of India (ch. 45) it mentions the Ali-Madras among the 'Northern Countries' (*deśāḥ udīcyaḥ*, verses 115-121): अथगाश्चलि-मद्राश्च (verse 120). The Ali-Madras were evidently a subdivision of the Madras; and evidently Alipura was the town of the Ali-Madras. The encounter of Candragupta II with the Śākādhipati (Śaka emperor) thus took place in Madra-deśa.

2. Bannu in Hindu Geography.

In the *Mahā-Bhārata*, *Bhīṣma parvan* (the chapter cited by Wilson in his translation of the *Viṣṇu Purāṇa*, ii, 139-190) we find the Bāhlikas, the Dārviṇa-Vānavas and the Darvas (p. 175)² together. *Dārviṇa* has been broken up in the printed text as

Dārvi ca. This is wrong, for every name in the text is in the plural, as is seen in the next name, *Vānavāḥ*. *Dārviṇa* and *Vānavāḥ* make one grammatical unit:

दार्वीच-वानवाः The Darvas are the well-known member in *Darv*=*Abhisāra*. The *Vānavāḥ* are the people of 'Vanu,' i.e., Bannu; and *Dārviṇa* is the exact equivalent of *Dārviṣa* (=the Darviṣa, or Darves khel of the frontier).³ Their neighbour, 'Vanu,' is thus the present Banu or Bannu.

3. The Vāṭadhānas of Hindu Geography.

The Vāṭadhānas were Vratyas, like the Licchavis (Manu, x, 21), that is non-orthodox Hindus. They were a definite community; and the *Purāṇas* count them among the peoples of northern Hindu India, or Bhāratavarṇa, e.g., the *Matsya* (ch. 113. 40: बाह्लीकावाटधानाश्च), Varāhamihira couples them with the Yaudheyas: वाटधान-यौधेयाः (*Bṛhatsamhitā*, xvi. 22). They have remained unidentified.

The Prakrit equivalent of *Vāṭadhāna* would be *Pāṭhāna*, which is obviously our *Pāthān*. The form *Pāthān*, instead of *Pathān*, I have found still current in the speech of villagers in Northern India.

K. P. JAYASWAL.

BOOK-NOTICES.

STUDIES IN COLA HISTORY AND ADMINISTRATION, by K. A. NILAKANTA SASTRI. University of Madras, 1932.

Prof. Nilakanta Sastri's first theme is the historicity of Karikala Cola. After briefly discussing the evidential value of early Tamil literature, and the colophons and commentaries associated with it, he examines the sources in chronological order, and traces the evolution of the Karikala legend from the earliest records down to the seventeenth century. His next subject is rural administration. He points out (what many writers fail to make clear) that the Tamil *sabhā* was in no sense a popular assembly, but an essentially Brāhman affair, devised for the governance of Brāhman villages. The interests of the laity found expression in the *ūr*, the *nagaram*, and the *nūdu*. He then reviews the history of the *sabhās* of Nālūr and Uttaramūrūr, as recorded in inscriptions, which range through several centuries, and concludes with a detailed revision of Venkayya's rendering of the now famous Parāntaka epigraphs of Uttaramūrūr. His last essay is on a Cola feudatory, Narakāvara by name, his achievements and charities. The whole series of studies is a model of lucid criticism.

F. J. R.

LIST OF ANCIENT MONUMENTS PROTECTED UNDER ACT VII OF 1904 IN BIHAR & ORISSA (A. S. I. New Imp. Ser., vol. LI), by M. H. KURASHI, B.A. 13 × 10 in.; pp. xvi + 310; with 163 illustrations in the text, 6 maps and plans, and 6 divisional antiquarian maps in pocket. Govt. Press, Calcutta, 1931.

This volume treats only of the monuments declared to be "protected," so the reader will find therein no reference to many sites of archaeological or historical interest not so declared. But it is much more than a 'list,' as in the case of the more important sites useful historical summaries have been given, and the descriptions of the various monuments contain all essential details, including any associated inscriptions. As specially useful features may be noted the references under each monument to departmental, and some other, accounts previously published, and to the numbers of the photo-negatives in possession of the Archaeological Department. Most of the illustrations have been clearly produced. Comparatively full accounts have been given of the Old Rājgir, Nālandā, Rohtāgarh and Khaplagiri sites, and of Maner. A plan of the Nālandā area would have been welcome. The chief defects noticed are the typographical errors, and mistakes due

¹ See *JBORS.*, XIX (1933), p. 121-122, 131.

² दार्वीच वानवा दर्वी in Southern Text, bk. VI. ch. 9. 54. (Kumbakonam ed., p. 15.)

³ Hüb., I. P., n. 175. n. 50. McCrindle, *Phil. mag.* p. 141, where *Pe-ra* of Fe-hien is taken as Banu.

apparently to want of local knowledge and acquaintance with other available literature. To give a few instances, three of the names of the defenders of the 'Arrah Houso' (p. 139) have been incorrectly spelt. No officer named Nan (p. 140) played any part in the battle of Buxar (*vide* details given in *JBORS.*, Mar. 1926). Bāndu Ghāt is not one of the paths up the Rohtās hill (p. 148); Bāndu is a village on the bank of the Son river, 2 mi. SSW. of Dārānagar. Buchanan Hamilton's (then Buchanan) reference to the fallen bridge at Sher Shāh's tomb is dated the 5th January, 1813 (*vide JBORS.*, 1925, p. 293), not 1832 (p. 187). The Kārṇa chaurā house in the Monghyr fort lies NE. of the large tank, not SE. (p. 208). The words "Damdama Kothī or Bathing Ghat" in brackets after the words "the Point" on p. 209 should have been omitted: the Damdama Kothī was not at the Point, which is the name of the projecting corner overlooking the Kaṣṭharaṇī Ghāt. Mir Jumla did not go through the "Sherghāti passes" (p. 212) to turn Shāh Shujā's position in Monghyr fort.

The idea of preparing antiquarian maps for each division was an excellent one, but it is a pity they were not drawn more accurately. As they are, they contain numerous errors, not only in the spelling of place names, but also in the positions of sites.

C. E. A. W. O.

COMPARATIVE TABLES OF MUHAMMADAN AND CHRISTIAN DATES, compiled by Lt.-Col. SIR WOLSELEY HAIG, K.C.I.E., C.S.I., C.M.G., C.B.E. 7½ × 5 in.; 32 pp. London, Luzac & Co., 1932.

These tables, which enable students of Oriental history to convert dates in the lunar months of the *Hijra* era into their corresponding dates in the Christian era, have been printed in a handy little booklet that will fit in a coat pocket. They will be useful to readers who have not at hand other works containing such information, e.g., Wollaston's *English-Persian Dictionary*, in the Appendix to which very similar tables are given.

C. E. A. W. O.

ARCHAEOLOGICAL SURVEY OF MYSORE, ANNUAL REPORT for 1929, by Dr. M. H. KRISHNA, Pp. vii + 317; 20 plates. Govt. Press, Bangalore, 1931.

This report differs in form and contents from its predecessors. Printed on excellent paper, strongly bound and similar in size to this journal, it is in itself a neat and handy volume. The plates are well chosen, and (with three exceptions) each bears references to the pages on which the subjects illustrated are discussed. The printing is good; the index all that it should be. The subject matter is arranged under five headings. For Part I (Administrative) four pages suffice. Part II (Survey of Monuments) contains brief descriptions of various temples, Jain and Hindu, and an exhaustive account

of the shrines, many of them originally cave temples, on the famous hill of Chitaldrug. Dr. Krishna's excavations at the adjoining site of Chandravalli are reserved for a separate monograph.

In Part III (Numismatics) Dr. Krishna throws fresh light on the coinage of the Hoysalas and the early rājas of Mysore, and on provincial issues during the Vijayanagara regime. The familiar "Vira-Rāya fanams," common throughout S. India, he traces to the Hoysala, Vira-Ballāla III. Under Part IV (Manuscripts) Dr. Krishna summarizes, *inter alia*, a Kanarese poem of about 1570 A.D. commemorating "Kampila Rāya," and his fights, not only with the forces of Muḥammad Tughluq, but also with the Hoysalas and the Kākatīyas. The account tallies closely with those of Firishta and Nuniz of the fighting round Kampili and Anegundi a few years before the foundation of Vijayanagara near-by.

Part V (Epigraphy) is inevitably the bulkiest section, for it includes the complete vernacular text of each inscription, with notes, and in some cases full translations. The year's harvest includes 117 inscriptions. These are arranged topographically, and a list is appended, tabulated by dynasties, of all inscriptions for which a dynasty can be assigned. The gem of the collection is a brief record of Mayūrasārman, the Brāhman founder of the Kadamba dynasty, enumerating eight kingdoms over which he was victorious, viz., Traikūṭa, Abhira, Pallava, Pāriyātra, Śakasthāna, Sondraka, Punāta and Maukhari. No mention is made of Śātavāhana, Gupta, Gaṅga or Vākāṭaka, and on the strength of these omissions Dr. Krishna would date this inscription about 258 A.D., i.e., after the Śātavāhanas had fallen and before the other three empires arose; a century earlier than the date usually assigned. Whether this dating is correct or not, it is certain that Mayūrasārman's achievement was a bigger thing than was hitherto suspected, and not unworthy of the eighteen horse sacrifices ascribed to him. Another record of first-rate importance is a grant by one Avidhēya of a village now in Kolhapur State. This ruler Dr. Krishna skilfully links up with the early Rāṣṭrakūṭas of "Manpur" in the Central Provinces, and the puzzling Śārābhapur grants of Chhattisgarh. For the grant he suggests the date c. 516 A.D., and cites in support some well known Cālukya-Rāṣṭrakūṭa conflicts recorded in early Cālukya grants.

Mysore has been well served by her archaeologists. Lewis Rice's corpus of nearly 9000 inscriptions is a unique foundation; Messrs. R. Narasimhaachar and R. Shama Sastri, in their annual reports explored with scholarly craftsmanship the artistic and literary aspects of Kanarese culture; and in this, his first report, Dr. Krishna makes it quite clear that the national tradition is in safe hands.

F. J. R.

PLACES AND PEOPLES IN AŚOKA'S INSCRIPTIONS.

BY K. P. JAYASWAL, M.A. (OXON.), BARRISTER-AT-LAW.

I. Aśoka's Pāladas and Amdhras, and the so-called Rāja-Visaya.

1. ROCK Series Proclamations, Section XIII,¹ mention the (1) *Pāladas* and (2) *Amdhras*, which have not been correctly identified. No definite proposal has been put forward about the *Pāladas*; and the *Amdhras* have been taken to be the Dakṣiṇāpatha Andhras. As I shall show below, the *Pāladas* were in Afghānistān and are well-known to Sanskrit geography as *Pāradas*, and there were their neighbours Northern Andhras, according to the *Purāṇas*.

Pālada-Pālida.

2. Aśoka's inscriptions have two main forms of the name of the *Pālada* community :

1. P[ā]lada [at Kālsī].
2. { *Palida* [at Shāhbāzgarhī];
Pārimda [at Gīrnār, which is only a dialectic variant of *Pālida*].

Curiously enough, the *Purāṇas* also have these two forms, as *Pārada* and *Parita*. The *Matsya* (ch. 113, 40-43), describing the 'northern countries' (*deśāḥ udīchyāḥ*), has :

गान्धारा यवनाश्चैव सिन्धुसौवीर-भद्रकाः ।

यका दुष्टाः पुलिन्दाश्च पारदा शस्त्ररत्निकाः ॥ (41)²

The *Vāyu*, in the corresponding place (ch. 45, §. 116), gives :

गान्धारा यवनाश्चैव सिन्धुसौवीर-भद्रकाः ।

यका इष्टाः कुलिन्दाश्च परिता हार-परिकाः ॥³

Here *Paritā* has the hard form for the *Palidā* of Aśoka. *Pārada* is the general form in Sanskrit literature, as we shall see below. In the *Vāyu* text, भद्रकाः is a mislection for मद्रकाः. On the *Pulindāḥ* (which occur in the same group in other authorities) we should recall here that Dr. Hall noted years back, in commenting on 'the Sindhu-Pulindas,' that there were northern Pulindas as well as southern Pulindas.⁴ They are, I think, the modern *Povindah* clan of the Afghāns. The form *Kulinda* is also well-attested (see the citations on Khasas by Sir George Grierson in *L.S.I.*, IX, Pt. 4, pp. 3-5). It represents the *Kuninda* of the coins. In fact, one MS. of the *Vāyu* reads *Kuninda*.⁵ Possibly at an early stage the Kunindas lived in the region of the present N.-W. Frontier Province. *Hāra-pūrika*, is a corruption of the well-known *Hāra-hūrika*, which I would take as a Sanskrit name for Arachosia. The *Śakāḥ Druhyāḥ* (= *Hradāḥ*, 'the lake people') of the texts evidently represents the people of Seistan-Drangiana.

Location of the Pāradas.

3. Ptolemy's *Paryetae* are our *Paritās-Pālidas*. Ptolemy's treatment shows that they were in Afghānistān.⁶ It should be noted here that, in the previous verse, the *Vāyu* has *Aparitāḥ* (= Afridis), distinct from *Paritāḥ*.⁷

¹ Hultzsch, *Inscriptions of Aśoka*, p. 211.

² J. Vidyāsāgara's ed., Calcutta, 1876, p. 393.

³ *Bibliotheca Indica* ed., vol. I, p. 351.

⁴ Wilson and Hall's *Viṣṇu Purāṇa*, vol. II, p. 159, notes, where he cites the *Rāmāyaṇa*, *Kikānda* XLIII.

⁵ Anandāsrama ed., p. 138, MS. ग.

⁶ *Encyclopædia Brit.* (11th ed.) I, p. 315.

⁷ बाह्लीका वाटवानाश्च आभीरा कालतेयकाः ।

अपरीताश्च शूद्राश्च ण्ड[कु]वाश्चर्मखण्डिकाः ॥ A., p. 138.

Their identification with the Afridis is due to Mr. Jayachandra Vidyālaṅkāra. *JBORS.*, XVIII, 99, 97. They are the same as the *Aparytae* of Darius and Herodotus (III, 91). I have heard Ghazni men pronounce the name as 'apartī' and 'aparitī.'

Sanskrit authorities group these people along with communities most of whom are identical with those mentioned by Aśoka. They also afford data for their location. This will be better understood by comparing the following lists :—

Aśoka's Inscriptions.—Yona-Kambojas [-Kamboyas], Nābhaka-Nābhapaṁtis [=Gaṁdharas of R.P., V.], Bhoja-Pitinikas [=Rāṭhika-Pitinikas of R.P., V],⁸ Amdhra [=Adha] -Pāladas.

Rāmāyana (K. 43, 4-12).—Kāmboja-Yavanas, Śakas, Varadas [=Pāradas].⁹

Manu (10, 44).—Kāmbojas, Yavanas, Śakas, Pāradas, Pahnava, Cinas, Kirātas, Daradas, Khasas.¹⁰ (The reading *Pahnava* interchanges with *Pahlava* in the MSS.)

Mahā-Bhārata.—Śakas, Kāmbojas, Bāhlikas, Yavanas, Pāradas, Kulīngas, Taṅgaṇas.¹¹

Harivaṁśa.—(Yavanas), Śakas, Tukhāras, Daradas, Pāradas, Taṅgaṇas, Khasas, Pahlavas, and other 'barbarians' (Mlecchas) of the Himālaya.¹²

Here, in the *Harivaṁśa*, we have an express location in the Himālaya for the Pāradas.¹³ A passage of the *Mahā-Bhārata* (*Sabhā p.*, ch. 52, 2-3) also locates them between Western Tibet (Mandāra) and evidently the Hindukush (Meru) range, on the river Śailodā,¹⁴ which can only be the Kunār. I cite here the text :—

मेरुमन्दरोर्मध्ये शैलोदामभितो नदीम् ।
ये ते कीचकवेणुनां द्वायां रम्यामुपासते ॥
खषा एका सनाद्यर्हाः प्रदरा दीर्घ-वेणवः ।
पारदाश्च कुलिन्दाश्च तङ्गुणाः परतङ्गुणाः ॥¹⁵

They dealt in 'ant-dug' gold (cf. IA., 4, 225). There can be little doubt that the valley of the Kunār-Chitral river is meant here. By the process of allocation of known territories to some of their neighbours, the Pāradas would seem to have occupied the area between the region at present peopled by the Kāfirs (called *Lampākas* in Sanskrit literature) and the Mohmands, in the periods of Aśoka, of the *Rāmāyana* text, and of the *Mānava Dharmaśāstra*.¹⁶ They seem to have been allied to the Aparītas, for the form Paritā is very near them, and the *Mahā-Bhārata* (*Bhīṣma p.*) reads their corrupt variants *Aparāntāḥ* and *Parāntāḥ* together :

बाह्लीका वाटधानाश्च आभीराः कालतोयकाः ।
अपरान्ताः परान्ताश्च पङ्खा [पङ्खा]श्चर्ममण्डलाः ॥

If this be compared with the Vāyu text quoted above, it will appear that the *Aparāntāḥ* and *Parāntāḥ* of the *Mahā-Bhārata* stand for the *Aparītas* and *Śūdras* of the *Vāyu*.¹⁷

⁸ Jayaswal, *Hindu Polity*, i, 142-145.

⁹ The countries mentioned are expressly 'northern' (verse 4) and in the Himālaya :

काम्बोज-यवनाश्चैव शकानां पतनानि च ।

अन्वीक्ष्य वरदाश्चैव हिमवन्तं विचिन्वथ ।

In the previous verse, there are the *Mlecchas*, *Pulindas*, *Śūrasenas*, *Prasthalas*, *Bhāratas*, *Kurus*, and *Madakas*. These *Kurus* and *Madras* must be the Uttara-Kurus and Uttara-Madras. The former are located by Ptolemy in the Pāmirs. The *Purāras* mention the existence of 'colonies of Kshatriyas' in that region (*Matsya* 113. 42).

¹⁰ पौण्ड्रकाश्चौद्र [चान्द्र] - द्रविडाः काम्बोजा यवनाः शकाः ।

पारदा (ः) पन्धवाश्चीनाः किराता द्रदाः खषाः ।

The *Chīnas* are the *Siṅu* race of Gilgit (*L.S.I.*, IX, 4, p. 5, n. 5). The *Daradas* are the modern Dards; the *Kirātas* are the *Kirāntis* of Nepal.

¹¹ *L.S.I.*, IX, Pt. 4, p. 3. Taṅgaṇapura was near Badrināth (Caphwāl), see *L.S.I.*, *ibid.*, n. 6.

¹² 6440; *L.S.I.*, *ibid.*, p. 4.

¹³ *L.S.I.*, *ibid.*, p. 3.

¹⁴ Probably the origin of the classical stories of the river 'Silas.'

¹⁵ Southern text, ch. 78, verses 78-79.

¹⁶ *L.S.I.*, *ibid.*, p. 4.

¹⁷ Wilson and Hall, *Vishṇu Purāṇa*, ii, 16.

The Northern Andhras.

4. It seems certain that there was a community called Andhras in the north. The *Matsya*, in the opening verse on the enumeration of the 'northern countries,' has *Pur Andhras* just in the place where *Aparītas* are given by the *Vāyu* :

बाह्वीका वाटधानाश्च आभीराः कालतोयकाः ।
पुरन्ध्राश्चैव शूद्राश्च पङ्कवाश्चात्तखण्डिकाः ॥

The *Bhāgavata* (IX. 20, 30) includes Andhras in a list of northern peoples :—

किरात-हूणान् यवनानन्ध्रान् कङ्कान् खशान् शकान्—*Nirṇayasāgara* ed. (1923), p. 414.

I am not in a position to ascertain whether any tribal name in Afghānistān at present corresponds with Andhra. It may, however, be pointed out that in the north of Afghānistān, about a hundred miles to the west of Balkh, there is the district of Andha-khui marked on the map ; and according to the *Matsya* the *Pur Andhras* were in the Bālhika group.¹⁸

The Andhras of Aśoka seem to have been the northern Andhras, as he mentions allied and neighbouring units in pairs, e.g., Yona-Kamboja, Bhoja-Pitinika, Rāthika-Pitinika, Andhra-Pālida. In the Hāthīgumphā inscription of Khāravela we have the Rāthikas and Bhojakas together (*E.I.*, XX. 87), as they were neighbours. Thus we may consider the Andha-(Andhra-)Pālidās to have been neighbours.

These northern Andhras were self-governing (see below), while the Dakṣiṇāpatha Andhra, according to the evidence of the Aśokan inscriptions and of the Aśokan *stūpas* noticed by the Chinese pilgrims, seems to have been under the imperial government.

Definite Location of the Northern Andhras and Pāladas in the Purāṇas.

5. Fortunately we are not left merely to infer the situation of the Andhras and Pāladas from mere strings of names or from a reference to such a comprehensive term as Himavat,¹⁹ which included the Hindukush, the Pāmirs and Tibet. The Purāṇas furnish data for a more definite location. There is a section in the Purāṇic geography of Bhāratavarṣa which deals with the watershed of a system of six rivers, three of which flow to the east, and three to the west. All these rivers had their sources in a lake system called *Bindu-sara*, situated in the region known as *Himavarṣa* (literally, 'the snow country').²⁰ The three rivers flowing westwards are the *Śītā* (spelt also *Śitā*), *Cakṣu* and *Sindhu* :—

सीता चक्षुश्च सिन्धुश्च त्रिखस्ता वै प्रतीयन्ताः ।

(See *Matsya*, ch. 120, 40 : *Vāyu*, i. 47, 39 ; *Rāmāyaṇa*, *Bāla k.*, 43, 11-14.)

The countries by the side of each of these rivers are given in detail (*Matsya*, verses 40-49 ; *Brahmāṇḍa*, ii. 18, 41-49).²¹ The *Sindhu* is undoubtedly the Indus. The *Cakṣu* is the Oxus, the *Fo-tsu* of Yuan Chwang.²² It should be noted that the Chinese pilgrim describes the Oxus region and the countries lying between it and the Indus (on the Indian frontier) in Hindu terms, which tally with Hindu geography. The Bhāratavarṣa of the Purāṇas extended up to the southern bank of the Oxus, and was larger than the present-day India in that direction.

¹⁸ I have ascertained since from Nazarkhan, an Afghān of Sarafza, Ghazni, that *Andheri* or *Andhri* is a most warlike Gilzaī tribe in Afghānistān.

¹⁹ E.g., in the *Rāmāyaṇa*, Ki. 43. There is a distinction between our Himālaya and Himavat.

²⁰ *Varṣa* is, literally, a tract of country subject to its own system of rainfall, i.e., having a distinctive climate. The Purāṇas, however, base these divisions on culture, that is, on individual, characteristic civilisation.

²¹ The *Brahmāṇḍa* text has become more corrupt.

²² *Lif.*, p. 196 ; Beal's *Si-yu-ki*, ii. 289.

The name *Cakṣu* ('eye') is a sanskritisation of the original name of the Oxus, viz., *Aksu*, which had been understood as *akṣu* (=Skt. *akṣi*, 'eye'). In Sanskrit literature we come across its other form, *Vakṣu* (also *Vanṣu*), which is the origin of the Mongolian *Bakeku*, Tibetan *Pakshu*, and Chinese *Fo-tsu* or *Po-tsu* and is preserved in *Vakshan* (modern Wakhân.) Its neighbour, mentioned several times by Yuan Chwang, is spelt both as *Sitâ* and *Śitâ* ('cold'). There is no room for doubting the identity of *Cakṣu* with *Aksu*, i.e., the Oxus, supported, as this is, by the alternative and real form, *Vakṣu*. The countries on the *Cakṣu*, as named in the *Purāṇas*, are :

(1) Cina-maru (*Vāyu*), Vira-maru (*Matsya*) ; (2) Kālīka²³ (*Vāyu*), Naṅgaṇa (*Matsya*) ; (3) Sarva-mūlika²⁴ (*Vāyu*), Śūlika (*Matsya*) ; (4) Tuṣāra (Tukhāra)-cum-Andhra (*Vāyu*), Tuṣāra (*Matsya*) ; (5) Tampāka²⁵ (*Vāyu*), Barbara-Aṅga (*Matsya*) ; (6) Balhava (*Brahmāṇḍa*), Pahnava (*Vāyu*), Yagrīna (*Matsya*) ; (7) Pārada (*Matsya*), Pārata (*Brahmāṇḍa*), Darada (*Vāyu*) ; (8) Śaka (*Vāyu*, *Matsya*) ; Khasa (*Brahmāṇḍa*).²⁶

Now, avoiding the question of the identification of each of these items, which is outside the scope of this paper, we are on firm ground in regard to Tuṣāra, which is a well-known spelling for Tukhāra (like Śasa for Khasa). Tukhāra is sufficiently described by Yuan Chwang,²⁷ who visited all parts of the area that was included in ancient Tukhāra, i.e., the districts of the present Afghānistān that go by the names of Tokhāristān and Badakhshān. The Tukhāra country does adjoin the Oxus, and does extend to the valley of the Chitral river, the country of the ancient Daradas and Cīnas (=Śīnas), on the east, and marches on the west with Balkh, which it once included within its limits. The *Purāṇic* description would place Pārada (the Pālada of Aśoka) between Balhava (Balkh) and Darada and Khasa (Dardistān), that is to say, the Pāradas would be located in what is now Badakhshān.²⁸ The Andhras were next to Tukhāra. They too were by the Oxus. In the time of Aśoka there were no Tokhāris there, and probably the Andhras and the Pāradas were neighbours, the two peoples occupying the area between And-khui (Afghān Turkistān) and the frontier of Chitral. It seems that the Pāradas became insignificant in the early Gupta period, when the *Vāyu* was written in its present form, as it gives their neighbours, the Daradas, in their place, contrary to the *Matsya*, which was closed in the Kushān-Andhra period (c. 250 A.D.). The neighbours of the Pāradas, called *Ambasthas* by Varāhamihira (अम्बष्ठ-पारता: XVI, 22), were not the *Ambasthas* of India proper, but the people whom Ptolemy (xviii. 3) calls *Ambantai* and places in the Paropanisadai, to the north of the *Parietai* (see his map in McCrindle, p. 8). Ptolemy gives the other *Ambastai* separately.

²³ *Tāla* in the *Brahmāṇḍa*.

²⁴ *Masa-mūlika* in the *Brahmāṇḍa*.

²⁵ *Lamyāka* in the *Brahmāṇḍa*.

²⁶ The texts of the *Matsya* (c. 250 A.D.) and *Vāyu* (c. 350 A.D.) are given below :—

M. 120 : अथ वीरमरुश्चैव कालिकाश्चैव शूलिकान् ।
तुषारान् बर्वेरानङ्गान् यगृन्वा [न्] पारदान् शकान् । 45
एतान् जनपदांश्चक्षुः प्लावयित्वोदधिङ्गता । 46

V. i. 47 : अथ चीनमरुश्चैव नङ्गणान् सर्वमूलिकान् ।
सागन्धांस्तुषारान्स्तपाकान् पङ्कवान् दग्धान् शकान् ॥
एतान् जनपदान् चक्षुः प्लावयन्ती गतोदधिम् । 44

Cf. Br. II. 18 : अथ चीनमरुश्चैव तालांश्च मसमूलिकान् ।
मद्रांस्तुषार्गल्लभ्याकान् बाह्वान् पाग्यान् खशान् ॥ 46
एतान् जनपदांश्चक्षुः प्लावयन्ती गतोदधिम् ॥ 47

²⁷ *Life*, pp. 195-196.

²⁸ We should, however, note that Yuan Chwang's *Varadasthāna* was probably somewhat farther south (see *Si-yu-ki*, ii, 285). *Varadasthāna* would mean 'the land of the Varadas,' the form *Varada* being a softer development of *Pārada*. The form is met with as early as in the *Rāmāyaṇa*.

For our period, Manu is a better guide ; and Manu's Code gives exactly the same situation as the *Matsya*, viz. :

Pāradas — Palhavas — Cīnas — Kirātas — Daradas — Khaśas (X, 44).

This means that in the time of the Code (c. 150 B.C.) the Pāradas and Palhavas extended up to the Cīnas (Śiṇas) and Daradas (Dards). Here **Palhava** seems to me to be a form of **Valhava** (Balkh), *v* changing to *p*, a change well known in Prakrit and in the area concerned. This *Palhava* of Manu has nothing to do with Parthia.

Monumental Evidence of Aśoka's Rule on the Oxus.

6. Yuan Chwang includes the countries by the upper Oxus as well as the Pāmirs in Jambudvīpa, just as the Purāṇas include them in Bhāratavarṣa. When Aśoka mentioned Jambudvīpa, he probably referred to a division greater than Bhāratavarṣa. The then All-India, i.e., the India up to the Oxus (his empire) was included in it : it was something like Asia.²⁹ That Aśoka ruled up to the Oxus is proved by his *stūpa* which Yuan Chwang saw in the Antarāpa, or Andarāb, country : " There is one *stūpa* built by Aśoka-rāja " (*Life*, p. 195).

Purāṇic Enumeration of Oxus Countries.

7. The name *Vīra-maru* (*Matsya*) was changed into *Cīna-maru* (*Vāyu*) owing to Chinese political influence reaching up to Persia in the first century B.C., embracing the 'desert country' (Russian Turkistān). By this *maru* (*Cīna* or *Vīra*) were meant the waste lands of Turkistān commencing above And-khui on the Oxus. This is also suggested by Varāhamihira's record :

Palhava-Śveta-Hūṇa (White Huns) — *Cola* (i.e., northern^{29a}) — *Avagāṇa* (= *Apagāṇa* = *Afghān*) — *Maru* — *Cīna* (XVI, 38).

This *maru* was in Zend called *Mouru*, which survives in the name Merv. The Purāṇic enumeration seems to run from west to east. Taking the tract between the Oxus and the Paropamisus-Hindukush, the Purāṇic names may be equated with the modern names thus :—

Desert	corresponding to Maru (Cīna)		
Kerki	„	„	Kālika ?
And(h) — khui	„	„	Andhras
Balkh	„	„	Valhava
Badakhshān	„	„	Pārada
Shighnān-Wakhān	„	„	Śaka
Pāmirs	„	„	Khaśa

In the time of Aśoka, the districts of northern Afghānistān now known as Andkhui, Mazār-i-Sharīf and Khulm seem to have been under the Andhras, and Badakhshān under the Pāradas.

Name of the Country of the Paradas.

8. The correct form of the name of the country is *Parada* (*Varada*), and of that of the people, Pārada, as Valhava would be the place name, and Vālhaveya (and Vālhika) the name of the people. The present-day *Bāradzai*, a Darrāni tribe, allied to the *Yusuf-zai*, seems to be their representative.

The a-Rāja-Viṣaya of Aśoka.

9. There has been a misreading and misappreciation of a term in Rock Series XIII. In connection with these self-governing communities, the emperor, after noting the success

²⁹ Otherwise it would be identical with Bhāratavarṣa ; but it seems that a term was designedly adopted to indicate a wider area. In Hindu geography Jambudvīpa is made up of several *varṣas*, including Bhāratavarṣa. I shall show in my note on the *Aparāntas* of Aśoka that he employed technical terms of Hindu geography. The wider significance of the name Jambudvīpa dates from a time anterior to Aśoka, and the name is to be found used in that wider sense in the Buddhist canon as well as in the Epics.

^{29a} Cf. *Ency. Brit.* (11th ed.), XIII, 339.

of his measures in the kingdoms of his foreign neighbours, outside his empire, records his success with regard to certain communities 'here,' i.e., within his empire. To take the translation of Hultzsche:—

"And this (*dhamma-vijaya*, i.e., 'conquest by morality') has been won repeatedly by Devânâmpriya both (here) and among all his borderers, even as far as where the Yôna king named Antiyoga"

"Likewise here in the king's territory among the Yônas and Kambôjas"

'In the king's territory' is a translation of *râja-visayamhi* (Girnâr). The second member of the phrase had been misread by Bühler as *viśavaji* (Kâlsî). I have compared the letters of the edition, and satisfied myself that Hultzsche's reading is correct. What Bühler read as *ji* is really *ṣi*; and it has to be read along with *viśara* as *viśaraṣi* (=Skt. *viṣaye*), corresponding with the Girnâr *visayamhi*.

But the grouping of the two words *hidâ* and *lâja*-(*viśaraṣi*) is wrong. It should be *hidâlâjaviśaraṣi* (द्विदालाजविशदक्षि), that is to say, it is *hidâ*-, or *hida*-, *a-râja-viṣaye* (i.e., 'here, in the non-monarchical tract'). The Girnâr version has also *hidâ*, not *hida* (see plate, p. 26).³¹ At Kâlsî we have both the forms, *hidâ* and *hida*, but Girnâr has only *hida* (for Skt. *iha*). It is thus clear that *hidârâja* (*hida a-râja*, or *hidâ a-râja*) is engraved. This sort of *sandhi* is well known in Aśoka's inscriptions (cf. Hultzsche, pp. lviii, lxxiii).

[In the term *a-râja viṣaya*, *viṣaya* probably has a technical meaning. It was a part of the empire, a province or a governorship, an administrative unit, like the *viṣaya* of Antara-vedi of the Guptas. There was probably a province of these republics, a separate imperial administrative unit, a protectorate province, like the Central Indian Agency of our day.]

II. Âparâmta, not Aparâmta.

10. There is misapprehension with regard to another word. In Rock Series V, the text has been taken as *aparâmtâ*, and as meaning 'western neighbours,' taking the word as made up of *apara* + *amta*. It might also be analysed as *a-para* + *amta*, i.e., the 'home' or 'inside' neighbours; or possibly as *avara* + *amta*, the 'inferior' neighbours. But these interpretations must be given up as inadmissible, for the reading is *Âparâmtâ* (at Girnâr. *Âparâtâ*; at Dhauri, *Âpalamta*), i.e., 'the peoples belonging to Aparâmta.' The *Âpalamta* of Kâlsî is therefore to be taken as used just like the *Aparâmtâ* of the Purâṇas. *Aparâmta* is a term used by Hindu geographers: it means the division of India called 'Western India.' This Western India is thus described about 250 A.D. (*Matsya Purâṇa*, 113, 49-51):

कुर्लीयाश्च सिरालाश्च रूपसास्तापसैः सह ।
तथा तैत्तिरिकाश्चैव सर्वे [पा]³³ रस्करान्तथा ॥
[ना]³⁴ सिक्काश्चैव ये चान्ये ये चैवान्तर-नर्मदाः ।
भास्कराश्च स-माहेयाः सह सारस्वतस्तथा ॥
काञ्चीकाश्चैव सोराष्ट्रा आनन्ता अर्जुनैः सह ।
इत्येते अपरान्तास्तु

Cf. *Brahmāṇḍa*, ii, xvi, p. 27 (Venk. ed., verses 51-62).

× × × × × × × अपरान्तान्³⁵ निबोधत ।

सूर्यारकाः कलिवना दुर्गला × कुन्तलैः सह ।

पालेयाश्च किराताश्च रूपकास्तापकैः सह ॥ 60

³⁰ *Inscriptions of Aśoka*, 1925, p. 48.

³¹ The point has been missed by Hultzsche owing to the vowel sign not being prominent.

³² Hultzsche translates as 'western borderers.' *Inscriptions of Aśoka* (1925), p. 10. I had previously suggested this rendering (*Hindu Polity*, 1924, i. 43); but this is not maintainable, as we shall presently see.

³³ का^o, corrected from the *Āyū* text.

³⁴ वा^o, corrected from the *Āyū* text.

³⁵ अपरान्तान् in the printed text is an obvious misreading.

तथा करीतवश्चैव सर्वे चैव कर्धराः ।
 नासिकाश्चैव ये चान्ये ये चैवान्तर-नर्मदा ॥ 61 ।
 सह-कच्छाः स-माहेयाः सह सारस्वतैरपि ।
 कच्छीयाश्च सुराष्ट्राश्च अनन्ताश्चार्बुदः सह ॥ 62 ।
 इत्येत अपरान्ताश्च.....
 Cf. *Vāyu*, 45, 128-131.
 अपरांस्तान्निबोधत ।
 सूर्यकाराः कलिदना दुर्गाः कार्त्तातकैः सह ॥
 पुलैयाश्च सुरालाश्च रूपसाम्तापसैः सह ।
 तथा तुरसिताश्चैव सर्वे चैव परस्कराः ॥
 नासिक्याद्याश्च ये चान्ये ये चैवान्तरनर्मदाः ॥
 भारु³⁶ कच्छाः समाहेयाः सहसा शाश्वतैरपि ।
 कच्छीयाश्च सुराष्ट्राश्च अनन्ताश्चार्बुदः सह ॥
 इत्येत सम्परीताश्च [= अपरांताश्च]³⁷

11. The extra line in the *Vāyu* gives a definite datum in सूर्यकारा (miscopied as सूर्याकाराः), i.e., from Śūrpāraka, the modern Sopārā, which is described as the capital of Aparāntā in *E.I.*, XI. The name probably owed its origin to Śūrpāraka having been the port for sailing to Assyria (*Śūra*). कच्छीयाः are the modern Kacchis, the Gujarātī-speaking people living in Cutch (Kacch), popularly known as 'Kacch-Bhūj.' *Samāheyāḥ* I have subdivided as *sa-Māheyāḥ*, 'with the people of the Māhi valley.' *Sārasvata* refers to the river Sarasvatī, still bearing its old name. It is to the west of the Māhi. Cf. Varāhamihira:

अनन्तार्बुद पुष्कर-सौराष्ट्राभीर-शूद्र-रैवतकाः ।
 नष्टा यस्मिन्देशे सरस्वती पश्चिमो देशः । (31)

According to the above text, Aparāntā, lit., 'the western end,' extended from Nāsik to the Raṇ of Kacch, including the area now called Pārkar [= Pāraskara] on the northern edge of the Raṇ. It is for the most part identical with the Gujarāt country, with probably a later extension beyond the Tāptī river (*Tāpakaiḥ saha*).³⁸

III. Asoka's Āparāntā?

12. Now, who were Asoka's Āparāntā? The inscriptions are not very helpful here; in fact they are positively confusing, as will be seen from the extracts quoted below:—

- Girnār .. *Yona-Kamboja-Gandhārānam* (1) *Ristika* (incorrect for *Rāṣṭrika*)-
P[er]nikānam ye vā pi amñe Āparātā (2).
 Mānsehrā .. Practically the same as above, except that it reads *Rathika-Pitinakana*.
 Kālsī .. *Yona-Kamboja-Gandhālānam e vā pi amñe Āparāntā*.
 Shāhbāzgarhī. *Yona-Kamboja-Gandharanam Rathikanam Pitinikanam ye va pi Aparānta*.
 Dhauli .. *Yona-Kambocha-Gandhalesu Rathika-Pitenikesu e vā pi amñe Āparāntā*.

It will be noticed that Girnār, Mānsehrā and Dhauli would describe at least the second group (*Rāṣṭrika-Pitinika*) as Āparāntas, and would seem to indicate that there were other Āparāntas among whom Asoka carried on his propaganda of positivism. Shāhbāzgarhī, on the other hand, would indicate both groups as non-Āparānta, while Kālsī knows only the first group, and will make them Āparāntas! The first group, we know from the *Rāmāyaṇa* downwards, to be *udīcyāḥ* (Northerners), and never Westerners. We have to regard Kālsī

³⁶ Anandāsrama text: मानु°

³⁷ सम्परीता is a misreading for the अपरांता of the *Matsya*.

³⁸ Jayamaṅgala, commentator of the *Vātsyāyana Kāmasūtra*, similarly describes Āparāntā as bordering on the Western Sea. (पश्चिम-समुद्र-समीपेऽप्यन्तदेशः) and (next to it) Lāṭa, 'which lies to the west of Western Mālava,' i.e., the Ujjayini country (अपरमालवपश्चिम लोटविषयः)

as defective, in omitting by mistake the mention of *Râṣṭrika-Pitinikānamī*. Similarly the Shāhbāzgarhī text is to be considered defective as omitting by mistake *añe* (other) before *Āparāntā*. The mistake at Shāhbāzgarhī shows that in Gandhāra [Province] the engraver or writer on the rock did not know that Rāṭhikas and Pitinikas were Āparāntās or that they were neighbours, for he makes them separate and does not group them. The mistake also shows that Yona-Kamboja-Gandhāra, which the writer knew well, were not Āparāntās. The writer at Kālsī, who does not use the form *Āpalāntā* but has *Apalāntā*, missed or omitted the real Āparāntas and employed the non-technical *apalāntā*, and writing as he was in the upper Siwāliks, he might correctly call the Peshāwaris and Kābulis 'the Westerners.' The true text is at Gīrnār, Mānsehrā and Dhauli, according to which, read in the light of Shāhbāzgarhī, the peoples to whom *Āparāntā* applied were the *Rāṭhika (Râṣṭrika)-Pitinikas (Petenikas)*.

Having Pitinikas as one of the Āparānta administrative units, we can safely infer that the next neighbours, the Bhojas (*Bhoja-Pitinika*, Rock XIII), were included in the 'other Āparāntas.' We have thus three communities who were Āparāntas :

Bhojas

Râṣṭrikas

Pitinikas

The Râṣṭrikas were the connecting link between the two, and must have been in a position from which they could link the Pitinikas and the Bhojas with themselves. Thus, if we can fix the localities of the other two, we can guess the position of the Pitinikas almost to a certainty.

For a period of less than a hundred years after Aśoka, we have the evidence of Khāravēla (*E. I.*, XX, 79) that "all the Rāṭhikas and Bhojakas" fought against him together. This shows that there was more than one Rāṭhika republican chief and probably more than one Bhojaka republican chief, and that the two were distinct, though closely allied. They were probably, therefore, close neighbours: Bhoja-Râṣṭrika-Pitinika made really one group.

Location of the Râṣṭrika, Pitinika and Bhoja States.

13. According to a passage of the *Mahā-Bhārata* one had to cross the Chambal to reach the Bhoja state and the Nava-Râṣṭras or Nine Râṣṭras.³⁹ According to another passage, the Bhojas were between Karūṣa and Sindh (Sindhu-Pulindakas).⁴⁰ The Bhojas were allied to Kṛiṣṇa's kinsmen, the Andhaka-Vṛiṣṇis, and migrated with them to Western India from Śūrasena. They must have settled near them, that is near Kāthiāwār. The position suggested by the *Mahā-Bhārata* ³⁹ is below Sindh and to the west of the Mālavas, with whom are associated the Karūṣas (*मालवाश्च कर्णवाश्च*, *Matsya*, 113. 52). By crossing the Chambal one came into the Mālava country. The locality thus suggested is between Sindh and Mālava. The limit of the Mālavas in Western India was Mount Abu, Arbuda, (*Arbuda-Mālavāḥ*), i.e., the Aravali range. Leaving the Bhojas here, let us see if we can be more definite about the Râṣṭrikas or Lāṭhikas.

Our best guide here is Ptolemy. He places Larikē between the mouth of the Māhi river and the peninsula of Kāthiāwār (McCrindle, p. 38) and extends its dominions from the mouth of the Narmadā (Barygaza) to the east of Indo-Skythia or Sindh (McCrindle, p. 152). Ptolemy's Poulindai, whom Yule places to the NE. of the Raṇ of Kacch (McCrindle, p. 157), are the Sindhu-Pulindas of the Sanskrit texts. *Lārika* is an exact rendering of *Râṣṭrika* in its Prakrit form.

We have thus on the authority of Ptolemy (c. 150 A.D.) Larikē extending from Bharoach to the Gulf of Kacch, i.e., the modern Gujarāt (west of Western Mālwā). Larikē seems to have extended up to the river Sarasvatī—*noted by Varāhamihira as the limit of Western India (नद्या यस्मिन्देशे सरस्वती पश्चिमो देशः)*—which rises from the Aravali hills and falls into the Gulf of Kacch. Ptolemy's limits of Larikē coincide with those of Lāṭa-deśa of Sanskrit

³⁹ *Sabha*, ch. 31 (17).

⁴⁰ *Bhīṣmaparvan*, cited by Wilson and Hall, *V. P.*, ii, 158 (ch. IX, 38-40).

ADDENDUM

to “ *Places and Peoples in Aśoka's Inscriptions.* ”

Bhojas (p. 129).—Enthoven, in his *Tribes and Castes of Bombay* (I, 229) writes :
“ Bhojaks, also known as Magas, are found in considerable numbers in Kāthiāwār and Cutch. They were originally Shrimāli Brāhmans who adopted the Jain faith for a living.”

Rai Bahadur Hiralal, in a letter to me, notes their absence in the Central India States. In Rājputānā their number in 1931 was 2754. In 1901 they were all returned from Mewār, which is not far from Cutch. These facts point to Cutch being their original home.

I have ascertained at Konch, near Tekārī in the Gayā district, that Śākaldvīpī Brāhman are also called Bhojakas. In the Deobaranār inscription of Jīvita Gupta II, Bhojakas appear as priests of the sun-god. The Śākaldvīpa, or Śākadvīpa, from which they came to Bihār was evidently Indo-Scythia, which comprised Cutch and Sindh. In the time of Aśoka the Bhojakas, who survived till Khāravela's time as a political community, must be regarded as connected with the ancient Bhojas (see *Hindu Polity*, i, 39, 89 ff.)

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writers (*Apara-Mālava-pāścimena Lāṭa-deśa*). The names Lāṭhī, a State in Kāthiāwār, and Rāṭhī, a caste name among Mārwāri (Mālav-wār) Vaiśyas preserve the ancient Rāṭhika.

Pitūnika.

14. The Pitinikas, for the reasons indicated above, should have lived somewhere between the lower courses of the Māhi and Sarasvatī rivers. Now, about 40 miles to the south-by-east of Ahmadābād lies the modern town of Petlād, in what is now part of the Baroda State. The old name of this place was Petila (see *A.S.R.W.C.*, 1920, pp. 47, 60). Petila=Petina. I think there can be little doubt that in this name we have a survival of the ancient Pitinika, Petinika, Petenika (omitting the suffix), and that it suits the location otherwise suggested.^{40a}

Bhojas.

15. The Bhojas, who, according to the *Mbh.*, *Bhīṣma-p.* list, should have resided below the Raṇ of Kacch, must have occupied Kacch. The popular name, Kacch-Bhūj or Kacch Bhoj, for that peninsula preserves the tradition. The Rāṣṭrikas, in the middle, extended up to the frontiers of the Pitinikas and the Bhojas. The *Bhojakas*, a caste, are today mostly found in Cutch and Kāthiāwār.⁴¹

Mahā-Rāṣṭra in Dakṣiṇāpatha.

16. The Mahā-Rāṣṭras were, according to the Purāṇas, in the Dakṣiṇā-patha (*Vāyu*). They were thus not an Āparānta people. The Rāṣṭrikas should not, therefore, be identified with them. It is probable that some of the Rāṭhikas and Bhojas moved down to the other side of the Satpura hills, and settled there. But their chief home, especially in Aśoka's time, was to the north of the Narmadā, in Gujarāt proper, from Kāthiāwār to Kacch.

Rāṣṭrikas and 'Abiria.'

17. In the time of the Periplus (c. 80 A.D.) the very area called by Ptolemy 'Larikê' was called 'Abiria.' It seems that the Ābhīras of Gujarāt were the Rāṣṭrikas of Aśoka and the Yādavas of the *Mahā-Bhārata*. Again and again in that area we find republicans. In the time of the *Mahā-Bhārata* they are Andhaka-Vṛiṣṇis and Bhojas (Yādavas); in the time of Aśoka we have the Rāṣṭrikas and Bhojas; in the time of Khāravela we have the Rāṭhikas and Bhojakas; in the time of Samudra Gupta we have the Ābhīras, while a contemporary Purāṇic text designates the Saurāṣṭras and Āvantyas—'Ābhīras'⁴²; in the time of Kumāra Gupta I and Skanda Gupta we have the Puṣyamitras there. These were all one and the same or allied people, with different names at different times.

Rāṣṭrika-Bhojas.

18. The treatment of these two in Aśoka's inscriptions shows that to some extent the Bhojas were identical with the Rāṣṭrikas, for in Rock P. V and Rock P. XIII they interchange like the Nābhakas and Gāndhāras. It seems that the Bhojas were amongst the Rāṣṭrikas, as the Nābhas were amongst the Gāndhāras.

IV. Aśoka's Republicans.

19. The Saurāṣṭras, who had been a republic (*saṃgha*) at the time of Kauṭilya's *Arthaśāstra*, soon ceased to be so in the very time of Chandragupta, who had a governor in Surāṣṭra (modern Sorath). Their political status was changed. Hence we do not find them in Aśoka's republican list. Kāmbhoja, which had been a republic in early Maurya times, was still so in Aśoka's time, but the Kṣatriya-Śreṇi ceased to be so. The enumeration in the *Arthaśāstra* is followed in essence by Aśoka, the *Arthaśāstra*'s list being:

'Kāmbhoja—Surāṣṭra-Kṣatriyaśreṇi and others' (*Kauṭilya*, Bk. X.)

The Kāmbhoja of Kauṭilya probably included the Yavanas and the Nābhas, and his Surāṣṭra probably included the Rāṣṭrikas.

20. The second list of Kauṭilya is:—

(a) Licchavika — Vrijika — Mallaka (Eastern India),

^{40a} For a *Pettanī* from Gujarāt in the seventh century see Moraes, Kadambakula, p. 65; March, 1925, p. 83.

⁴¹ Enthoven, *Caste and Tribes of Bombay*. I am thankful to Mr. Hira Lal for this reference. This caste is the remnant of the ancient Bhojakas.

⁴² *Bhāgavata* (Cf. Vishṇu) in Pargitor's *PT.*, p. 54; *JBORS*, XIX, 149-150.

- (b) Madraka — Kukura — Kuru — Pāñchāla and others (Eastern Panjāb to Madhya-deśa) who lost their political status by the time of Aśoka, though the Madrakas reappear in the succeeding centuries and continue up to 350 A.D. (i.e., the time of Samudra Gupta) as republican.

The republics with political powers and full autonomy in the time of Aśoka are a limited list (R. P. XIII): (i) the Yavanas, the Kāmbojas, the Nābhas and Nābha-Pāntis, the Bhojas and the Pitinikas [the Rāṭhikas were under the Rajjukas of the king, like any other imperial district, according to the Yerraguḍi inscription—IHQ., IX. 112] and (ii) the Andhras (on the Oxus), with the Pāradas. The latter are found under a king, *Pāradān shāh*, in 293-294 A.D. [*Paikuli Inscription*, pp. 117-119, Berlin, 1924.]

Bhārata-varṣa and Himavarṣa.

21. Aśoka's line of demarcation is Meru (Hindukush) with Niṣadha (Paropa-Nisad). Those to the south of the Meru-Niṣadha frontier are (i) the above, and those to the north of them, in Himavarṣa (Imaus), are the (ii), § 20.⁴³ The territory commencing from the Hindukush is counted by Aśoka in his India, which was something like Bhārata-varṣa. The Greek writers have preserved the tradition that some reckoned India from the the Hindukush, and some from the Indus or the Kōphen. The latter was what the Purāṇas call Kumārīdvīpa. Aśoka's Oxus Province was in his Jambūdvīpa, which had been a well-established term before his time, as the Pāli canon shows. The Oxus Province we find included by the Purāṇas in Bhārata-varṣa and Jambūdvīpa—on the other side of the Jambū river. It seems that the Jambū river and Meru (Hindukush) constituted the limits of Maurya India, otherwise Aśoka would have started his *arāja-viśaya* enumeration with the Andhra-Pāladās. Up to the Hindukush we find an actual Hindu population: Śāsi-gupta was a ruler there in the time of Alexander. Aśoka's dividing line has a geographical meaning, which is explained by the Greek authors writing on the limits of India, and the Hindu divisions of Bhārata-varṣa and Himavarṣa.

The Kāmboja of Aśoka.

22. *Kāmboja* (Girnār, Kālsī and Mānsehrā, V and XIII), with its variants, *Kāmboya* (Shāhbāzgarhī, V, XIII) and *Kāmboca* (Dhauī, V), is the Kāmboja of the *Arthaśāstra* (Bk. XI. c. 135). The regular form, however, in Sanskrit literature, from Yāska and the *Rāmāyaṇa* down to medieval inscriptions, is *Kāmboja* (country) and *Kāmboja* (people).⁴⁴ The form *Kāmboya* suggests that in Aśoka's time the name was pronounced thus in the country itself. From this, 'Kāmboh,' the name of a numerous Hindu caste found in the Panjāb⁴⁵ is derived. Their tradition is that they came from Gajni (i.e., Ghazni), 'near Kambay.'⁴⁶

Kāmboja and Kābul.

23. The origin of the word is *kambu*, 'neck.' Both *Kambu-ja* (and its derivative *Kāmboja*), 'born in Kambu,' and *Ka(m)bu-la*, 'of Kambu,' may be derived from *kambu*. The area where Kābul is situated is just like the neck of a water-pot or a conch. Kābul seems to be identical with the ancient Kāmboja. Its capital, according to the Buddhist *sūtras*, was Dvārakā.⁴⁷

The Yavana-Kāmbojas were between the Yavanas (Yonas of Aśoka) and the Gāndhāras. These **Yavanas** were pre-Alexander Yavanas, who are noted in the same position in the *Rāmāyaṇa* (*Kiṣkindhā*, 43, 11—*Kāmboja-yavanāś caiva*) and in the Pāli canon

⁴³ It is definitely clear that the Hindus named the two ranges, and it was their nomenclature which the Greeks found in use. In the Purāṇic geography Meru and Niṣadha are adjoining, and between them the Jambū River flows (*Vāyu*). Their Jambū-tree was probably the blue plum, which is associated in India with Turkistān ('*ālū Bokhārā*,' 'the round fruit from Bokhārā') and which in shape appears like the *jāmun* fruit of India proper.

⁴⁴ Cf. Wilson and Hall, *Vishṇu Purāṇa*, references in Index.

⁴⁵ Rose, *Glossary of Tribes and Castes of the Punjab and North-Western Frontier Province*, ii, 442 ff.

⁴⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 444.

⁴⁷ Rhys Davids, *Buddhist India*, pp. 23-28.

(*Yona-Kambojesu*).⁴⁸ These Yavana-Kambojas of the Pāli texts had no Brāhman according to the canon and Aśoka (R. P. XIII): they had only free men and slaves, which is an accurate description of a Greek community. The Pāli form, Yona-Kamboja, would mean that these Yonas were in the Kamboja country and a part thereof. In 1919 I had pointed out⁴⁹ that these were pre-Alexander Yavanas, the Yavanas of Pāṇini and Manu, for Manu treats them as a Hindu tribe; and I identified them with the community at Nysa, below the Hindukush (Meru), with their president Akoubi (Ā-Kaubhī). The latter official presided over the people who dwelt between the Hindukush and the Kubhā (Kābul) river, i.e., to the north of that river. They claimed kinship with Alexander's Greeks, which was acknowledged. Patañjali notes their *janapada*: *Naiśyo nāma janapadaḥ* (M. IV. l. 4 on P. 4. l. 170).

From Arrian we get some light on the identification of

The Yona-Kamboja-Gandhāras of Aśoka (R.V).

In the edicts these are grouped together, which means, they were all neighbours situated in this order. The enumeration is scientific, being in geographical sequence, from west to east, which is confirmed by Arrian (I):

"The regions beyond the river Indus on the west are inhabited, up to the river Kōphen, by two Indian tribes, the Astakenoi and the Assakenoi, who are not men of great stature like the Indians on the other side of the Indus, nor so brave, nor yet so swarthy as most Indians. . . . The Nysaioi, however, are not an Indian race, but descendants of those who came into India with Dionysos. . . . The district in which he planted this colony he named Nysaia (=the *Naiśya janapada* of Patañjali) . . . and the city itself Nysa. But the mountain close by the city, and on the lower slopes of which it is built, is designated Mēros (Meru) . . . In the dominions of the Assakenoi there is a great city called Massaka, the seat of the sovereign power which controls the whole realm. And there is another city, Peukelaītis (Puṣkalāvātī), which is also of great size and not far from the Indus. These settlements lie on the other side of the river Indus, and extend in a western direction as far as the Kōphen."

Arrian, in the above passage, indicates that Puṣkalāvātī was easternmost in this enumeration, and his Assakenoi, or the Aśvakas, were on the Kābul river and between the Nysa Yavanas and Puṣkalāvātī. Now Puṣkalāvātī was in Gandhāra. Aśoka's Kambojas were between the Yavanas and Gandhāra. The Kambojas of Aśoka and of the Sanskrit and Pāli texts thus occupy exactly the same position as Arrian's Assakenoi (Aśvakas). We thus get another name for the Kambojas, i.e., Aśvakas. The Kambojas were famous for their horses, and as cavalry-men (*aśva-yuddha-kuśalāḥ*);⁵⁰ *Aśvakas*, 'horsemen,' was the term popularly applied to them.

Gandhāra.

24. Arrian, starting his enumeration from the Indus westwards, mentions the Astakenoi first, which means that they were in Gandhāra. The Aṣṭakas are the well-known *Aṣṭaka-rājya*, 'the Confederacy of Eight.'⁵¹ They are now represented by Hashtnagar, the 'Eight Cities' tract on the lower Swāt in the neighbourhood of Puṣkalāvātī (Chārsadda). The Gandhāra of Aśoka was divided into two parts, (1) on the eastern side of the Indus, with Takṣasīlā as capital, which was an Imperial Province, and (2) the Bājaur and Swāt region under autonomous (city) states, with Puṣkalāvātī as the biggest town amongst them. They formed a league of eight city-states. Now, in Rock P.V. we have the Gandharas, and in Rock P. XIII we have in their place (in the *arāju-viśaya* group) the Nābhaka-Nābhapaṁtis (= *paṅkti*). Here the section of Gandhāra which was not under direct imperial rule was distinguished by these two names. Precisely in this region (Bājaur-Swāt) we have now the Nāhaka community and the Nāhaki Pass. Nāhaka is the exact equivalent of Nābhaka.

⁴⁸ *Majjhima*, ii, 119 (pointed out by Mr. C. D. Chatterji). These Yonas-Kambojas had only two *varṇas* (castes), viz., *ārya* (free men) and *dāsa* (slaves); and one could change to the other.

⁴⁹ While delivering my *Tagore Law Lectures* before the Calcutta University. See *Tagore Lectures*, (1919), p. 83; *Hindu Polity*, i, 147—148.

⁵⁰ *Mahā-Bhārata, Śānti p.*, 105. 5 (Kumbakonam ed.)

⁵¹ Cf. *C.H.I.*, p. 355, n.

I have given other reasons elsewhere⁵² for placing the Nābhaka and the Nābha *pañkti*, or 'Nābha lines,' in Gandhāra, on the authority of the grammatical literature, where they appear as *Nabhāka* and *Urṇa*⁵³ *Nābha*. *Pañkti* is a synonym of *śreni*, 'line,' which is often used to denote a league of republicans. The Nābhakas and Nābha-*pañtis* had their confederacy of eight city-states. If we take the second member as *Nābha Pañti* (as we already have the Nābhakas), the *Pañti* would be 'the Pañtis' in league with the Nābhas, and would be identical with the *Paktyes* or people of the Paktyika or Paktyike country named by Herodotus.⁵⁴ The Nābhas occupied the country just to the south of the gold-trading Dardistānīs.

Nabhāka and Nābhāka occur as designations of Rishis in the R̥gveda. Nābha-nediṣṭha Mānava is well-known as one who was left out in partition by his father, Manu. *Nābha-nediṣṭha*, 'nearest in descent,' has retained that meaning in the Avesta (*Vedic Index*, i. 442). The Nābhas appear to have been a Vedic community.

The Nābhas are now the Paṭhāns of the Swāt valley. Their seat (*dhāna*) was the 'way' (*pāta*, or *vāta*), and *Pāta-dhāna* or *Vāta-dhāna* was merely a descriptive title, not an ethnic name, as Paṭhān or Pāṭhān is today. It was evidently the ancient Nābhas or Nābhakas who were described by Varāhamihira as the 'city states' (*grāma-rāṣṭrāṇi*) of the Vāṭadhānas, who are located along with the Yaudheyas and Trigartas, etc. :

Traigartta-Paurava-Ambaṣṭha-Pārata-Vaṭadhāna-Yaudheyāḥ,
Sārasvata-Arjunāyana-Matsyārdha-grāma-rāṣṭrāṇi (*Bṛihat-S.*, XVI, 22).

V. Aśoka's International Conquest by Dharma, and his so-called

"Ashashu" (Correctly, Ashurshu—'in Syria').

In Rock Proclamation XIII we have (quoting Hultzsch's translation)

"and that *Dharma-vijaya* ('Conquest by Dharma') of Devānāmpriya has been, again, obtained

(a) "here (*iha*, *idha*) ;

(b) "and in all the *aṃṭas* (=frontier states of neighbours-*shaveshu cha aṃṭeshu*) ;

(c) "*Ashashupi yojanashateshu* (K. reading of Hultzsch) where the Yavana king Aṃṭiyoka (lives or rules) (*yatra Aṃṭiyoko nama yona-laja* (Shāhbāzgarhī) ;

(d) "beyond this Antiochus (where) the four kings (rule)...(*param cha tena Aṭiyokena chature rajani*,.... (Shāhbāzgarhī) ;

(e) "to the south—in Choḍa-Paṇḍa down to Ceylon (*Taṃbapaṇi*) ;

(f) "similarly here in the non-monarchical *vishaya*—amongst the Yonas..(etc.), everywhere (i.e., in all the above places) Devānāmpriya's *Dharma-anushasti* (instruction or command on Dharma) is followed ;

(g) "and even there where the envoys of Devānāmpriya do not go (the peoples) having listened to the Devānāmpriya's *Dharmavutaṃ* (the law of conduct,) *vidhānaṃ* (authoritative rules and ceremonies) (and) *Dharmānuṣṭi* (Dharma commands) obey them (*anuvīdhiyaṃte*)."

We may note, in passing, that *dharmavutaṃ* is a technical term of Buddhism,⁵⁵ meaning the seven points of proper conduct (*satta vuta-padaṃ*), viz., supporting one's parents, revering one's elders, kind language, abstinence from backbiting, abstinence from selfishness, truthfulness, and restraining anger (*Dh.*, 185, 186, 189). This is in effect the Dharma preached by Aśoka.⁵⁶ Here the conquest of Dharma by the emperor in his own empire, including

⁵² *Hindu Polity*, i, 145.

⁵³ Compare the modern name, Ūṇa (Pashtu, Unra), of the lofty ridge in eastern Swāt identified by Sir Aurel Stein with the Aornos of Alexander's campaign (*A. S. I. Mem.* 42, pp. 89, 90).—C. E. A. W. O., Jt.-Editor.

⁵⁴ See Cary's trans., iii, 102 ; iv. 44.

⁵⁵ Childers, *Pali-English Dictionary*, p. 591, s.v., *vuta-padaṃ*.

⁵⁶ Pillar, VII. EE, HH, Hultzsch, p. 136 ; Rock, III, IV, IX, XI, XII, G. ; Brahmagiri.

protectorates, and outside, is described. The outside area was composed of two classes, viz., (1) the countries to which imperial envoys were accredited, and (2) those countries which did not possess that political dignity. Some of the countries to whose courts Indian ambassadors were deputed are noted by the mention of their rulers by name (in the case of the Greek sovereigns) or by the mention of the States (e.g., Choda, Paṇḍa and Tāmbapaṇi (Ceylon)).⁵⁷ There were states where Asoka's envoys did not go; and one of these must have been the Satiyaputra which is mentioned in R.P. II, but is omitted in R.P. XIII from the list of the higher international states. The enumeration of the states in India follows a geographical order. The Satiyaputra state is placed between Kerala and Pāṇḍya, and we can be certain of its position as being in the Tinnevely district. *Sātūr* (old form *Satiyūr*) in that district probably marks their capital. It was in this district that was situated the port of Korkai or Kolkai, near the mouth of the Tāmrarparṇi river, whence vessels sailed for Ceylon. The states in (b) to (e) are definitely named, and are implied to be ambassadorial states. The states in (e), i.e., in Europe and Africa, are given, evidently, in the order of their individual importance.

‘Ashashu.’

(c) [Bühler's and Hultzsch's reading] has been translated thus (Hultzsch, p. 70) :—

“even as far as at (the distance of) six hundred *yojanas*, where the Yona king named Antiyoka (is ruling),

and (d) thus :—

“and beyond this Antiyoka (where) four — 4 — kings (are ruling). . . .”

Ashashu pi is taken as *ā-shashu pi*, and rendered “even as far as six.” There are serious objections to this interpretation. *Pi* is after *ashashu*, and not after *yojana-shateshu*. Why should ‘six’ be emphasised? If distance was to be stressed, then why was not the greater distance of the countries beyond that of Antiochus given? Then, we have *a* [𑀅] at Kālsī, not *ā* [𑀅𑀸]; if *ā* (‘up to,’ ‘as far as’) was intended, we would expect *ā*, as in R.P. II (Girnār : *ā-Tāmbapaṇi*), and in R.P. IV (Dhauī : *ā-kapaṁ*). Excluding Kharoṣṭhī versions, where long *ā* is always omitted, we have nowhere *a* used for *ā*, and everywhere *ā* given in full force (Pillar II : *ā-pāna*). As Asoka's ‘Conquest of Dharma’ certainly extended beyond 600 *yojanas*, there would be no sense in giving the lesser distance of the place where Antiochus lived or ruled if distance was to be emphasised.

Correct Reading : Ashurshu.

The second letter is not *sha*, but *shu*. See the plate of Shāhbāzgarhī (Hultzsch, pp. 68-69).⁵⁸ The *u*-mark to the first *sh* at Mānsērā is also clear; it is only a little more slanting and a little irregular (see Hultzsch's plate opposite p. 84). Its third and last occurrence at Kālsī (plate, p. 50, line 6) has a very thin tail to the bottom of *sh*. We have thus at Shāhbāzgarhī and Mānsērā *Ashu*°, and at Kālsī, *Ash(u)*°. Further we may distinguish on the top of the second *sh* at Kālsī a wavy horizontal line, distinguishable more easily in the plate of Bühler (*E. I.*, II, p. 460), and a clear *r* added to the bar of the second *sh* at Shāhbāzgarhī and Mānsērā. The complete word, thus, is *Ashurshu*, and the base *Ashur*.

Now Ashur or Ashu should be in a position from where (‘beyond’ which) one could get into the territories of the four ‘neighbouring kings’ (*sāmīpa-rājāno*,⁵⁹ Girnār; *sāmaṁtā lājāne*, Dhauī and Jaugaḍa). Such a position would be the sea-coast of Syria or Asia Minor, but as the first neighbour of Antiochus is the king of Egypt in the inscriptions, we have to take the country of Ashur as Syria, and probably not Assyria. Here, as in Herodotus, Syria is called Ashur (Assyria), not Shur.

⁵⁷ *Tāmbapaṇi* is undoubtedly Ceylon. According to Hindu geography, *Tāmrarparṇa* (*Tāmravarna*) was a *dvīpa* separated from India by sea (*Matsya*, Ch. 113; *Vāyu*, Ch. 45, 70-78). The expression *ava*, ‘down to,’ denotes that in the south (*nīcham*) it was the southernmost state. The river Tāmrarparṇi is in the Pāṇḍya country, and Paṇḍa is already separately mentioned. Megasthenes also has Taprobanē for Ceylon (McCrindle, p. 62), which corresponds to *Tāmbraṇi*.

⁵⁸ If Ashu is the form, it would correspond to the proper-name forms found in the cuneiform documents of the reigns of Antiochus I and his father.

⁵⁹ Not *sāmīpam rājāno*, as Hultzsch reads. There is no *anusvāra*; see plate, p. 4.

ON THE REIGN OF KṚṢṆA II, THE RĀṢṬRAKŪṬA.

BY NALINI NATH DAS GUPTA, M.A.

SPEAKING of Prithivīrāma, son of Mēṛada, who was the first of the Rāṣṭras to attain the position of a Great Chieftain (*Mahā-Sāmanta*), during the reign of the Rāṣṭrakūṭa king, Kṛṣṇarājadēva, the Saundatti inscription of the Rāṣṭras, dated in 1096 A.D.,¹ incidentally refers to his Rāṣṭrakūṭa patron, and in doing so maintains that "seven hundred and ninety-seven years of the Śaka era having elapsed, in the Manmatha samvatsara, that king caused a temple of Jina to be built in the village of Sugandhavarti and allotted to it eighteen nivar-tanas."² The date referred to corresponds to 875-76 A.D., and the context, which is replete with a brilliant description of a great king, is evidently applicable in so far as the builder of the said temple is concerned, to Kṛṣṇarājadēva, and not to Prithivīrāma, who was no 'king' at all, and hence no claimant to all those superior royal epithets. According to the following lines of the same inscription, Prithivīrāma himself, too, had had erected a shrine of Jinēndra, the locality of which, however, is not precisely known. Now, the only king of the Rāṣṭrakūṭa dynasty with the name of Kṛṣṇarāja who could possibly reign in or about the above date was Kṛṣṇa II, son of Amōghavarṣa I, and the late Dr. Fleet, who edited this inscription, first admitted it. But since the Kanhēri inscription of 877-878 A.D.³ of Amōghavarṣa I's reign appeared *prima facie* in conflict with the reign of his son in 875-76 A.D., he later on "applied it as furnishing a date for Kṛṣṇa II as Yuvarāja under his father Amōghavarṣa I..."⁴ But that again fell short of consistency with the imperial titles that have been used of Kṛṣṇarāja. So he ultimately concluded that

- (1) the king who caused the temple to be erected at Sugandharvarti in 875-76 A.D. was not Kṛṣṇarāja, but the Mahāsāmanta Prithivīrāma ;
- (2) the very "date of A.D. 875-76 cannot be an authentic one for Prithivīrāma ; for we know, from another of the Saundatti records, that he was the grandfather of a certain Śāntivarman.....who was the ruling Mahāsāmanta in December, 980 A.D. and the range of a hundred and five years for the three generations is far too great";
- (3) "the real patron and sovereign of Prithivīrāma must have been Kṛṣṇa III", whose earliest known date is 940 A.D., and that the Saundatti record of 1096 A.D. "makes a confusion between Kṛṣṇa III and his ancestor Kṛṣṇa II."⁵

But if two generations of kings could be on a throne in 814⁶ and in 911 A.D.,⁷ as were Amōghavarṣa I and his son Kṛṣṇa II, and if the Rāṣṭrakūṭa Chieftain Nandarāja, or Nannarāja, alone could rule for a period of at least 78 years, as is evinced by his Tiwarkhēd and Multāi plates, a hundred and five years for the three generations might not be far too great. Secondly, Dr. Fleet overlooked the fact that the long reign of Amōghavarṣa was not a continuous one, which is borne testimony to by the versions of the *Praśnōttara-ratna-mālā*,⁸ and an inscription found at Aihōle by Fleet himself.⁹ The fourth line of this

¹ *Jour.Bo.Br.R.A.S.*, X, 194-98.

² *Ibid.*, p. 200.

³ *I.A.*, XIII, 135-36.

⁴ *Ibid.*, XXXII, 220.

⁵ *Ibid.*

⁶ As indicated by the Sirur and Nilagunḍa inscriptions of the 52nd regnal year of Amōghavarṣa I, and dated in 866 A.D.—*I.A.*, XII, 216 f.; *E.I.* VI, 98 f.

⁷ *I.A.*, XII, 222.

⁸ *I.A.*, XII, 217-18, and XIX, 379.

⁹ *I.A.*, XX, 114.

inscription reads: *Śrī-Amôghavarshaṁ nava-râjyam-gêyê*, i.e., 'while the glorious Amôghavarsha is reigning again,' and there are several copies of one, viz., the Digambara Jaina, recension of the *Prāśnôttara-ratnamâlâ*, a short treatise on the rules of good conduct, of which the concluding verse runs as follows:—

Vivêkâkt-tyakta-râjyêna râjñeyam Ratnamâlikâ rachit-Âmôghavarṣeṇa sudhryâm
(or *su-dhryâ*) *sada-aṁkṛtiḥ*.

"This garland of gems, an excellent ornament for the earned, was composed by king Amôghavarsha, who gave up his kingdom owing to his discriminative knowledge" (or, as the late Sir R. G. Bhandarkar put it, "in consequence of the growth of the ascetic spirit in him.")¹¹

Thus, there might well be a temporary break about 875-76 A.D. in Amôghavarṣa I's reign, when Kṛṣṇa II might have acted as the king. We have now at our disposal also the Sanjan plates of Amôghavarṣa I, according to which he had, even before 871 A.D., the date of the plates, relinquished his kingdom more than once.¹²

An analogous instance of a king renouncing the throne out of spiritual fervour and again occupying it is furnished by Sron-tsan-Gâmpô, the Charlemagne of Tibet (seventh century), who, when a son of his reached the thirteenth year of his age, abdicated the throne in his favour and retired into solitude to pass his days in meditation, but resumed royalty when the son died at eighteen.¹³ What exactly led Amôghavarṣa I to resume royalty after ceding it time and again cannot be divined, but in any case, we are not justified to correct or modify the text of the Saundatti inscription of 1096 A.D.

Amôghavarṣa I had embarked upon a disastrous campaign against the (Eastern) Câlukyas, and the fire of his prowess is said to have 'burnt the Câlukya race.'¹⁴ Contest with these Câlukyas of Vêṅgi seems to have been a very significant event of Kṛṣṇa II's reign. Guṇaka-Vijayâditya III of this dynasty 'having made the firebrand Kṛṣṇa frightened and distressed, burnt his excellent city,'¹⁵ (Mânyakhêta). The Sirur and Nilgūṇḍa inscriptions of the time of Amôghavarṣa I refer to his being worshipped by the lord of Vêṅgi,¹⁶ and the terrible invasion of Guṇaka-Vijayâditya III must have taken place after 866 A.D., the date of the two inscriptions, and probably also after the death of Amôghavarṣa I. On the other hand, the catastrophe had befallen the Râṣṭrakūṭas before 888 A.D., when Guṇaka-Vijayâditya had ceased to be a king, and Bhîma I, his nephew, had been on the Câlukyan throne.¹⁷ This, we should note, brings the date of the real accession of Kṛṣṇa II within a narrower limit, which extends from 877-78 A.D., the last known date of Amôghavarṣa I, to 888 A.D., the first known date of Kṛṣṇa II.

The Vêmalurpâdu plates of Ammarâja II disclose the fact that Kṛṣṇa II later on went to wreak his vengeance upon the Eastern Câlukyas by falling upon Bhîma I and overrunning the land of Vêṅgi, but that the latter succeeded in freeing his territory from the Râṣṭrakūṭa aggression.¹⁸

We need not seriously doubt that ".....the support which Kôkkala (I, the Cêḍi king) lent to Akâlavarṣa (Kṛṣṇa II) was given in all likelihood at the time when the latter was defeated, and his capital Mânyakhêta occupied, by the Eastern Câlukya king

¹¹ I.A., XIX, 379.

¹² Bom. Gazetteer, vol. I, Pt. II, p. 201.

¹³ E.I., XVIII, pp. 248, 255.

¹⁴ JASB., 1881, pp. 221-22.

¹⁵ E.I., IV, 287, vv. 13-14.

¹⁶ I.A., XII, 221.

¹⁷ *Vaṅg=Āṅga-Magadha-Mâlava. Vêṅg=īśair-architô=Tiśaya-dhavalah.*

¹⁸ I.A., XX, 102-103; Duff's *Chronology of India*, pp. 81 and 279.

¹⁹ E.I., XVIII, 231; I.A., XX, 103.

Guṇaka-Vijayāditya III.”¹⁹ But the question is if Kōkkala I married his daughter with Kṛṣṇa II,²⁰ prior or posterior to the help he rendered to the Rāṣṭrakūṭa prince in the South. The former alternative, however, would give us a reason why Kōkkala should help Kṛṣṇa, and facts seem to corroborate it. King Indra III, grandson of Kṛṣṇa II, died in 917-18 A.D., leaving behind two sons who had attained such age as to succeed him on the throne. Supposing Indra III died when about thirty, at the earliest, we get at 887-88 A.D. as the hypothetical date of his birth, at the latest. His father Jagattuṅga II, who, though he did not reign, may yet be said to have lived for at least some twenty-five years, for he, too, had got two sons in Indra III and Amôghavarṣa III. Thus Jagattuṅga may be supposed to have been born sometime in the first half of the seventh decade of the ninth century A.D., if not earlier, and his father, Kṛṣṇa II, had been wedded to the daughter of Kōkkala I anterior to that, while the onslaught of Guṇaka-Vijayāditya III on Mānyakhêta could not have possibly taken place so early. Kōkkala I thus seems to have succoured Kṛṣṇa II as his son-in-law, and this most probably not during the lifetime of Amôghavarṣa I.

From the Bāngarh grant of Mahīpāla I, the 9th of the Pāla monarchs, as also some other Pāla inscriptions of Bengal, we know that Rājyapāla married the daughter of a certain Tuṅga of the Rāṣṭrakūṭa family.²¹ Prof. Kielhorn identified this Tuṅga with Jagattuṅga II.²² An inscription found at Bôdh-Gayâ “records the dedication of a repository for aromatics and incense, or a well-scented temple (i.e., *Gandhakûṭī*) for the service of Buddha” and “the dedicator was a king named Tuṅga, grandson of Nanda, a Râhtor prince (“of the race of Rāṣṭrakūṭa”) who once took or held the fort of Maṇipur.....”²³ The late Mr. R. D. Banerjee opined that the father-in-law of Rājyapāla was this Tuṅga of Magadha, of the Bôdh-Gayâ inscription.²⁴ But it does not necessarily follow from the Bôdh-Gayâ inscription that Tuṅga, grandson of one who was in the possession of Manipura, had been the lord of Magadha. He, as a Buddhist, might well have visited Bôdh-Gayâ in course of a pilgrimage. Granting, however, he had succeeded in carving out a principality of his own in Magadha, it would come to mean that Tuṅga’s usurpation of the Magadhan soil followed either from the hands of the (Gurjara) Pratihâras or from those of the Pālas themselves. But, in any case, he who had tried to make intrusion and establish supremacy in Magadha, could not be friendly with the Pālas, and thus no matrimonial alliance was possible between these two houses at that time. Again, the description of Tuṅga, as it is in the Bāngarh inscription [“the high (*tuṅga*) high-crested (*uttuṅga-mauli*) moon of the Rāṣṭrakūṭa family (*Rāṣṭrakūṭ=ānvay=ēndu*)”]²⁵ makes it indubious that the father-in-law of Rājyapāla, far from being a petty prince, like Tuṅga of the Bôdh-Gayâ inscription, did belong to the Imperial Rāṣṭrakūṭa family. ‘Tuṅga’ is a general epithet borne by the Imperial Rāṣṭrakūṭas,²⁶ and Kṛṣṇa II was called Subhattuṅga, with whom Mr. N. N. Vasu identifies the father-in-law of Rājyapāla.²⁷ This appears to be more tenable than Prof. Kielhorn’s identification with Jagattuṅga II, in view of the fact that the latter did not come to the throne at all, while Kṛṣṇa II had actually been a contemporary of Rājyapāla’s father, Nārāyaṇapāla, whose reign covered the latter half of the ninth century.

¹⁹ *E.I.*, VII, 29.

²⁰ *I.A.*, XII, 250, 253.

²¹ Cf. *E.I.*, XIV, 329, vv. 7-8; *JASB.*, LXIX, pt. 1, p. 69

²² *JASB.*, LXI, 80, n. 9.

²³ R. L. Mitra, *Bodh-Gaya*, Ch. V, inscription No. 8, p. 194.

²⁴ *Bānglār Itihāsa*, vol. I, 2nd ed., p. 216; *Mem.A.S.B.*, vol. V, p. 62.

²⁵ *JASB.*, LXI, 80.

²⁶ Cf. the Karhad Plates of Kṛṣṇa III, v. 6—*E.I.*, IV, 287.

²⁷ *Vaṅger Jātiya Itihāsa*, *Rājanya Kāṇḍa*, p. 168.

MISCELLANEA.

INDIA AND THE EAST IN CURRENT LITERATURE.

Djawa, 11 Jaargang, Nos. 5 and 6 (1931).—These parts contain a general survey of the indigenous industries of Java, Madura, Bali and Lombok. The survey is the outcome of a resolution passed at a meeting of the Java Institute in 1928. The committee nominated to deal with the subject drew up and circulated questionnaires formulated in a methodical manner. The industries have been tabulated under 26 heads, and the information gathered by the inquiries has been collated and systematically presented by regencies, divisions, districts and sub-districts under each of those heads. Appended is a summarised tabular statement, arranged according to administrative divisions, i.e., on a geographical basis. The result is a valuable record for purposes of reference and for the use of any person interested in a particular industry or handicraft.

Bulletin de l'École Française d'Extrême Orient, XXXI, Nos. 1 and 2, Jan.-June, 1931.—In this number M. G. Coedès contributes another three of his 'Cambodian Studies.' In the first he presents revised readings of two Sanskrit inscriptions (1) from the knoll of Thápmuoi, and (2) from Tà Prohm (Bati), which have hitherto been regarded as 'Cambodian' inscriptions, but which, he now conclusively shows, should be relegated back to Fou-nan times, and ascribed to the fifth century A.D. These inscriptions, one of which names the two last kings of Fou-nan, Jayavarman and his son, Rudravarman, while the other (the older) names a king with the title "moon of the lineage of Kaundinya," are of interest for more than one reason. They confirm the information derived from Chinese sources as to the spread of Indian culture to the East and the favour which Hinduism and Buddhism enjoyed there; and they prove that it was not the Kambujas who introduced the custom of recording inscriptions on stone. Readers of the *I.A.* will be interested to notice the almost exact similarity (to which M. Coedès has drawn attention) between the *aksaras* used in these inscriptions and those of the Uruvupalli copper-plates of Sir Walter Elliot's collection, described by Dr. Fleet at pp. 50-53 of vol. V (Feb. 1876) of this journal.

In the second note (26) M. Coedès shows that the foundation of Kòh Ker and the installation of the royal god (styled Tribhuvaneśvara) must be ante-dated by seven years, i.e., from 928 A.D. (according to Aymer's reckoning) to 921 A.D. The correction raises some interesting points, which have been indicated.

Journal Asiatique, CCXX, 2, Apr.-June, 1932.—In our issue of Jan. 1932 (vol. LXI, p. 17) we referred to a note by M. Robert Fazy on the subject of an eclipse of the sun in the time of Aśoka. M. Fazy suggested that the eclipse referred to in the story

recorded by Hsüan-tsang was one which, according to Oppolzer's *Kanon der Finsternisse* (1887), occurred on the 4th May 248 B.C. M. D. Sidersky, in the issue before us (pp. 295-297), now points out that the tables on which Oppolzer worked have since been revised by C. Schoch (1928), and that eclipses visible in the East occurred on the 4th May 249 (not 248) and the 15th June 242 B.C. He suggests that the story related by Hsüan-tsang may have referred to the latter eclipse, which would have been almost total in the vicinity of Baroda, and sufficiently noticeable at Benares and the neighbouring areas, and that the interval of about seven years since Aśoka's pilgrimage (? 249 B.C.) to the spots sacred to the memory of the Buddha might have been employed in the construction of the legendary 84,000 *stūpas*. It is important that the correct dates of these eclipses should be thus recorded.

The article entitled "Is Wāk-wāk Japan?" by M. Gabriel Ferrand proposes a most interesting solution of the origin of this peculiar name, so familiar to us from the accounts of the Arab geographers and others, as well as of the location of the people described by it. M. Ferrand's unrivalled knowledge of the Chinese and Arab geographical texts enables him to establish, convincingly we think, that the islands, or the country of the Wāk-wāk was not Japan, as M. J. de Goeje was disposed to hold. He traces the application of the name not only to a locality in the Eastern Archipelago, but also to the south-east coast of Africa, and he cites the opinion of Mr. R. N. Hall, who had long studied the question in those parts, that it was derived from the Bantu, who applied it to the Bushmen in mimicry of their speech, as being like the bark of the baboon (which closely resembles *wāk-wāk*). We seem to have here further evidence of the intercommunication in early times between the Malay Archipelago and Madagascar and the south-east coast of Africa, as well as, perhaps, of the conception, preserved in the maps of Ptolemy and the Arab cartographers, that the continent of Africa extended eastwards, enclosing the Indian Ocean on the south. M. Ferrand is inclined to hold that the *Pandanus utilis* (the *wakwā* of Madagascar) was the original of the legendary *wāk-wāk* tree, and that the association of wealth in gold with the people so called points to Sumatra (the 'golden island'). In fact he concludes that the Oriental Wāk-wāks were inhabitants of Sumatra, whom he would identify with the Pakpaks, a Batak tribe that dwell in what the Dutch call Pakpakland, a territory in the north-west of the Tapanuli province, in the north-west of Sumatra, not very distant from the Baroes islands (the *Bālūs* of the Arabs and the *P'o-lou-che* of the Chinese travellers).

Acta Orientalia, IX, Pts. ii and iii, 1931.—This issue is devoted to a most valuable and scholarly work, viz., a translation from the Tibetan, with introduction and notes, by E. Obermiller of Leningrad of the

Uttaratantra, the fifth of the five treatises ascribed to the Bodhisattva Maitreya, with commentary by Aryasanga (fourth-fifth century A.D.).

In vol. XI, Pts. i and ii, M. Obermiller similarly presents a translation of the fourth of those treatises, the *Abhisamayālaṃkāra*.

The first of these treatises ascribed to Ārya Maitreya, the *Sutrā-lamkāra*, was edited and translated (1911) into French by M. Sylvain Lévi from a manuscript brought by him from Nepal. The second and third treatises, the *Madhyānta-vibhanga* and the *Dharma-dharmatā-vibhanga*, remain to be translated. The *Uttaratantra* is perhaps the most interesting of all five, as containing an exposition of the most developed monistic and pantheistic teachings of the later Buddhists and of the special theory of the Essence of Buddhahood, the fundamental element of the Absolute, as existing in all living beings. M. Obermiller is to be warmly congratulated upon the appearance of these two translations, which place students of Buddhism under a deep obligation to him. The work has been admirably performed, and we only wish that it (and perhaps certain other volumes of the *Bibliotheca Buddhica*) could be made available to scholars at smaller cost.

Zeitschrift für Indologie und Iranistik, IX, Pt. 1, 1932.—Among the papers in this number is one in which Th. Zachariae cites and comments upon a number of quotations from Buddhist Sanskrit texts in the works of certain commentators of

Bengal who lived and wrote in the time of Lakṣmaṇasena (twelfth century A.D.). The references are interesting as indicating the spread of Buddhist culture at the period, and also because, as the writer notes, quotations from Buddhist works are seldom to be found in the commentaries on the classical poems, grammars and lexicons.

The much-debated question of the origin of Zarathuṣtra is the subject of another paper by O. G. von Wesendonk, who, while drawing attention to available evidence and the more recent views expressed by others, comes to no very definite conclusion. He thinks it may be regarded as not at all unlikely that Zarathuṣtra, though his field of work lay in eastern and north-eastern Irān, was a Mede; and that all that can be said with absolute certainty as to his epoch is that his activities long preceded the establishment of the kingdoms of the Medes and Persians.

In another article on 'The Morphology of Sanskrit,' which will appeal chiefly to students of linguistics, Max Walleser concentrates attention on the case of the locative sing. masc. neutr., citing a large number of suggested parallels or examples from various Asiatic and eastern European languages. The question raised as to the use of particles to specialise or individualise the purely verbal conception merits research in other families of languages.

C. E. A. W. O.

BOOK-NOTICES.

JAINISM IN NORTH INDIA, 800 B.C.—526 A.D., by CHIMANLAL J. SHAH, M.A. 11+7½, xxiv+292 pp. 26 plates and two maps. Longmans, 1932.

In this work, a thesis submitted to the University of Bombay for the degree of Master of Arts and which appears as No. 6 in the series of "Studies in Indian History of the Indian Historical Research Institute" the author disclaims any pretensions to discoveries of his own or to having in any way extended the limits of oriental scholarship or research. What, however, he has done with considerable success is to follow, in the form of a continuous history, the fortunes of Jainism for some thirteen hundred years. To this history he sets two limits, one geographical, the other chronological, dealing with north India only and not beyond 526 A.D. when the list of canonical works was finally drawn up by the Council of Vallabhi. In his introduction the author points out the neglect that Jainism, despite its antiquity, had suffered at the hands of orientalists, but acknowledges how interest in that religion has been stimulated by the works of Jacobi, Bühler, Hoernle, Charpentier and Thomas. He discusses the question of the founder of the religion

and accepts the view of Jacobi that Mahāvīra was not that founder. He considers that the historicity of Pārśva is undoubted and that he lived, in all probability, about 800 B.C. He then sketches the historical background and political conditions in the time of Mahāvīra, recounts the main incidents of his career, and details the basis of his teaching and the principal Jaina tenets. There is no minimizing of the schisms which rent the early church, and a brief account is given of the principal schismatics and of the epoch-making division into the Śvetāmbara and Digambara sects. To the vexed questions of the cause and date of this separation the author contributes nothing new, but points out that the idea that this occurred about the end of the first century A.D. is not entirely supported by the Mathurā sculptures. In reviewing the relationship of the Jainas with the rulers of northern India from 800 B.C. to the end of the Mauryan period he endeavours to prove that they were generally either Jainas themselves or entertained friendly feelings towards that faith. The tradition that Chandragupta (Maurya) became a Jaina towards the end of his life is accepted, and the plausible suggestion is offered that the silence of the

Brāhmaṇical writers touching that powerful monarch may have been due in no small measure to that very fact. Close acquaintance is evidenced with all the leading authorities, but when the author turns to Jainism in Kāliṅga he has to fall back upon less reliable sources, the principal being the Khāravēla inscription. Perhaps no epigraph has ever been subjected to such scrutiny with so little finality, and this section of the work, like the readings of that inscription, is very largely conjectural and open to criticism on points of fact and interpretation.

The author stresses the importance of the Mathurā inscriptions for the history of Jainism in north India, affording as they do evidence of the flourishing state of that religion in the Indo-Scythian period and throwing light upon the religion itself. Nevertheless we consider it unlikely that in this period Jainism was, in Mathurā itself, a serious rival to Buddhism, though it was certainly more tenacious of life, for from later inscriptions we know that the Jaina establishment on the Kaṅkali mound existed until the Muslim conquest, by which time all the Buddhist buildings had long fallen to ruin.

A survey is made of Jaina literature, and the author discusses how far the Digambara belief that the Siddhānta was completely lost or forgotten after the great famine in Magadha is justified, and notes the evidence furnished by the Mathurā inscriptions on this point. He maintains that "the Jaina literature of the period under discussion does not yield to any other Indian literature either in quality or variety," and he has some justification for this belief.

The last chapter deals with the sculptural, architectural and pictorial contributions of the Jainas to the history of North Indian Art in general. This contribution is, we consider, small. We are prepared to accept the author's dictum that there is no such thing as a Jaina style of architecture or sculpture. But there are nevertheless Jaina monuments and sculptures. Touching the images in the Mathurā Museum, Vogel writes that they are far inferior to contemporary Buddhist images and that their "conventionalism and uniformity will appal even the most enthusiastic admirer of Indian art." No Jaina paintings of the period treated are preserved, and those used to illustrate the work are from a thirteenth century manuscript, and thus have no direct bearing on the subject under consideration. In this connection we note that the twenty-six plates are unnumbered and never once referred to directly in the text.

In his conclusion the author writes, "from the days of Pārśva or from 800 B.C. down to the conversion of the great Vokrama by Siddhasena Divākara to the beginning of the Christian era and to some extent even throughout the Kushāna and Gupta

periods Jainism was the most powerful religion in the north." The period, however, between the decay of the Kushāna power and the rise of the Guptas is one of the darkest in Indian history, and records of Jainism are lost in the general gloom. Even in Gupta times there is little in the way of inscriptions or other archaeological evidence to prove that Jainism was more than tolerated under these essentially Brāhmaṇical rulers. The author seems to feel he has been unduly bold in his assertion, and in the very last paragraph of the book writes with commendable caution: "However, until the numerous Jaina inscriptions and manuscripts which exist everywhere in the north are collected and translated and until plans are made of the architectural remains and statistics gathered, it is idle to speculate upon the extent and strength of Jainism in the north or about its vicissitudes during its existence there."

A full and careful index and an invaluable bibliography add to the merit of this well-balanced and serviceable work.

H. HAROREAVES.

BRĀHMAN : eine sprachwissenschaftlich-exegetisch-religions-geschichtliche Untersuchung. By JARL CHARPENTIER, PH.D., I, II. Uppsala Universitets Årsskrift 1932, Program 8. 9½ × 6½ inches : pp. iv+138. Uppsala : A.-B. Lundequist.

In the R̥gveda even more than in other departments of Sanskrit literature our exact comprehension of the text is continually obstructed by the occurrence of words and phrases evidently used by the writers in a precise connotation, which is only apparent to us in somewhat vague outlines. Foremost among such words stands *brahman*, and the formidable task awaiting him who would elucidate it is apparent from the subtitle of this monograph, of which we have here the first two parts, dealing with the philological and exegetical sides of the question. Success obviously depends on the possession of specialist knowledge of Indo-European philology and of a complete mastery of Vedic and Avestan literature, and, as few scholars can rival Professor Charpentier in this combination, his views will carry unusual weight. Those, whose knowledge of the points in issue is of a purely general nature, like the reviewer's, can only judge his theory by seeing whether it makes Vedic religion more intelligible; any attempt therefore to estimate its value must be deferred till the appearance of the third part of the memoir, which will deal with its bearing on the history of religion.

The author starts with a brief consideration of the various solutions propounded in the past and devotes a number of pages to demonstrating the untenability of Hertel's propositions about this and other words in terms which are certainly drastic but not, in my opinion, unjustifiably so. In the end he dismisses Hertel's theories as 'empty fantasies,' 'not to be taken seriously,' and decides

that he has shown himself lacking in the capacity to deal with the exegesis of the Veda and the Avesta and with comparative philology. The case for the prosecution is supported by abundant evidence and the verdict will surely be accepted by most Sanskrit and Iranian scholars.

His own views may be briefly stated, though justice cannot be done to them in a few lines. In the first place he accepts the equation *Sk. brahman* = *Av. barsaman*, whose sponsors have been Haug and Hillebrandt, and holds that the original meaning survives almost intact in the latter word. From the meaning of 'a bundle of grass,' used mainly as sacrificial strew, which may possibly still be traced in one or two Vedic passages, we get the derived sense of 'magic' carried out by such grass, still to be found in the use of the *mufja* girdle. Thence it comes to signify generally 'magic,' 'magic rite,' 'magic action,' 'magic spell.' A large number of R̥gvedic verses are critically examined, and it is shown that such a range of meanings gives them a much more forceful sense than they bear under the ordinary indefinite interpretations. Finally it is suggested that the word then developed on two lines, firstly into 'hymn' and secondly into the mystic sense which is so well-known to us. In the course of the discussion interesting sidelights are thrown on many passages, and bibliographical references are given on a generous scale. This inadequate summary will have entirely failed of its object if it does not induce readers, who have any interest in the Veda, to set to work at once on the study of an admirable book. In the reviewer it gave birth to the wish that, since the late Professor Macdonell died without giving us his eagerly awaited translation of the R̥gveda, Professor Charpentier would step into the breach, and let us have the complete English translation, which we need so much and for which his learning and his command of our language so admirably fits him.

E. H. J.

INDIAN CASTE CUSTOMS, by L. S. S. O'MALLEY, C.I.E. Cambridge University Press, 1932.

The peculiar Indian institution known as 'Caste' has attracted widespread attention, and the number of books relating to it is legion. Some writers, such as Senart and his German critics, Dahmann and Oldenberg, have discussed the way in which the caste system originated. There are many books containing a description of individual castes, of which Risley's *Tribes and Castes of Bengal* is one of the earliest and best-known examples. But hitherto there has been no general and comprehensive account of the actual working of the caste system and of its influence on the daily life of the people. A mass of information on this subject is to be found in various official records, and especially in the series of reports on the census of 1911, when the Census Commissioner invited the Provincial Superintendents to make a special study

of the rules and restrictions which the caste system involves, of the penalties which are provided for their breach, and of the way in which they are enforced. The material thus provided has hitherto remained inaccessible to the general public. Mr. O'Malley, who was Superintendent of Census in Bengal in 1911, has now worked up this and other material in the excellent little book under review. He gives a very clear exposition of the social conditions which prevail under the régime of caste, and shows how a man must regulate his whole life according to the standards laid down by the community to which he belongs. He enumerates many typical rules and restrictions and describes the penalties which a man may suffer for neglecting them, and the way in which alleged offences are dealt with, and the penalties imposed and enforced.

In some parts of the book references are freely given, but in others they are omitted. For instance, no authority is quoted for the statement that some 'castes' insist on a man marrying outside his 'caste' (p. 2) and that some 'subcastes' also do so (p. 4). The book does not contain a definition of caste, but there can be no doubt that endogamy is its most essential feature. There are occasional exceptions to the general rule, but no group which prohibits endogamy can be regarded as a true caste or subcaste. The rule of exogamy applies to the smaller groups (*gotras*) which in the aggregate make up the caste or subcaste.

The chapter on the 'Untouchables' is of special interest at the present time. The people thus designated are themselves divided into a number of castes which are just as exclusive as the higher Hindu castes. The only thing they have in common is the slur of untouchability. This they can escape by conversion to Islām or Christianity, as mentioned in the footnote on p. 159.

In the thoughtful chapter on modern tendencies more prominence might perhaps have been given to the rapid disappearance of communal restrictions amongst the educated classes in towns, who often dine freely not only with Hindus of other castes, but also with Muhammadans and Christians.

E. A. GAIT.

MEDIEVAL INDIA: SOCIAL AND ECONOMIC CONDITIONS, by A. YUSUF ALI, M.A., C.B.E. Oxford and London, H. Milford, 1932.

This booklet, of about sixty pages all told, contains an English version of four lectures delivered originally in Urdu. Mr. Yusuf Ali defines medieval India as the period between Harsha and the Mogul Empire, and he illustrates the life of the time by sketching first the seventh, then the tenth and eleventh, and finally the fourteenth century, more attention being given to social than to economic detail. The main object of the lectures was to arouse the interest of the hearers, and direct them to the sources of information; and they are well calculated to serve this purpose in their English dress.

W. H. M.

INITIAL FRICATIVES AND AFFRICATES OF DRAVIDIAN.

BY L. V. RAMASWAMI AIYAR, M.A., B.L. (MAHARAJA'S COLLEGE, ERNAKULAM).

THE affricates and fricatives occurring in initial positions of native Dravidian words are the following :—

- I. (a) The affricate *c-* and its voiced variety *j-*.
- (b) The dental affricate *ts-* and its voiced variety *dz-*.
- (c) The dental sibilant-fricative *s-*.
- (d) The palatal sibilant-fricative *ś-*.
- II. The labial fricative *v-*.
- III. (a) The velar fricative *x* [x]
- (b) The glottal fricative or aspirate *h-*.¹

I

[A] *The distribution of initial c-, j-, s-, and ś- among the dialects :—*

			<i>c-</i>	<i>j-</i>	<i>ts-</i>	<i>dz-</i>	<i>s-</i>	<i>z-</i>	<i>ś-</i> *	<i>ź-</i>
Tamil							
Malayālam	*							
Kannāḍa	*	*			*			
Telugu	*		*	†	†			
Koḍagu	*							
Kūi					*			
Gōṇḍi					*			
Kurukh	*				† ?			
Brāhūi	*				† ?			

*=of common occurrence.

†=of rare „

[B] *The phonetic values of these sounds :—*

It would be necessary for the Dravidist who concerns himself with the history of these sounds to have a clear and definite idea of their precise phonetic values. The remarks made below regarding the values of the sounds of the southern dialects (Tamil, Telugu, Kannāḍa, Malayālam, and Tuḷu) are the result of personal observations made by the present writer. I have of course not had the help of instruments in analysing the peculiarities of these sounds, but I have tried to fix the common features of the enunciation of each sound by observing closely as many native speakers as possible. For the descriptions of the sounds of Kūi, Gōṇḍi, Kurukh and Brāhūi I have had to rely on grammars dealing with these speeches.

The fricatives of this group are *s-* and *ś-*. The voiced varieties² of the sound do not occur initially in any of the dialects of Dravidian.

The difference between *s-* and *ś-*, while unmistakable to the speaker and to the hearer, has resisted easy and summary definition by the phonetician, probably on account of the fact that several varieties of *ś-* could be produced, not all of which could be grouped together in one category on the basis of the features of articulation involved. Prof. Jespersen has pointed out (*Lehrbuch der Phonetik*, page 46) that no two phoneticians have definitely agreed in regard to the difference between *s* and *ś*. He has tried to get to the root of the matter by laying down the following rule: "There are two chief types of *ś* [ʃ]- sounds which differ in the manner of production but which have something in common, whereby they differ from *s-* sounds; and that, therefore, should be the characteristic feature of difference,

¹ I have already dealt with the secondary glottal fricative of Dravidian in two previous papers of mine published in these columns.

² The voiced variety of this sound, viz., *ś* [=dz] easily merges into the affricate *j* [=jz] in the contexts in which it may be presumed to have occurred. *ź*, the voiced fricative, is unstable in medial positions also.

viz., the portion of the tongue which articulates is not the same as that which lies in normal rest-position exactly opposite to the point of articulation on the mouth-roof. In the case of *s*-, if I may so put it, a portion of the tongue becomes active towards the region of the mouth-roof exactly opposite, while if the same portion of the tongue becomes active with the neighbouring region of the mouth-roof, *ś* is produced; with one qualification, however, that when the region of the mouth-roof involved is that of the teeth, *s* is invariably produced."

Prof. Jespersen has noted two main varieties of *ś* :—one produced by the anterior portion of the foreblade of the tongue working against a region of the mouth-roof which lies farther back than that which, in rest-position, lies opposite to the foreblade of the tongue. This is the initial sound in English *shed*, *shall*, etc. The other variety is produced by a portion of the tongue-surface farther back than in the above, operating against a more forward region of the mouth-roof.

So far as Dravidian³ is concerned, I have noted the following peculiarities. In Tamil where *ś*- in initial positions is general, except in Tinneveli and Jaffna, the fricative is produced by the raising of the middle of the foreblade of the tongue against the region of the mouth-roof somewhat behind the teeth-ridge where a slight hole-like passage is formed through which air is allowed to escape. The sound approximates to the first variety of *ś* described by Jespersen, but the point of articulation appears to be a little more forward than that of the English sound. This is the value of *ś*- in Tamil words like *śā* (to die), *śinna* (small), etc.

But, as we shall see later on, Tamil has an affricate *c* [= *cf* in IPA script] which is constituted of a plosive element and a fricative *ś*. This fricative element in [*cf*] is always produced in Tamil at a still more backward position than in the variety described above, so far as both the region of the mouth-roof and the portion of the tongue-blade are concerned. The region of the mouth-roof is almost the middle portion of the hard palate, i.e., the same point at which the plosive element [*c*] of [*cf*] or *c* of geminated medial *cc* of Tamil is produced.

In Malayāḷam, initially, *c* alone is used, while *ś* occurs only medially in native words. The greater frequency of *c* in initial positions of native words has led to all *ś*- sounds being enunciated on the model of the fricative involved in the affricate, i.e., at a slightly more backward position than for Tamil initial *ś*.

Telugu, Kannāḍa and Tuḷu *ś* is, so far as I could see, like the Malayāḷam sound produced at the position where the front stop element of the affricate *c* is produced.

The Dental Fricative.

s is produced in all the Dravidian dialects with the foreblade of the tongue directly raised against the combined region of the teeth and the gums.

The Affricates.

There are two groups belonging to this class :—

- (1) *c* [= *cf*] and *j* [= *jz*], both of which appear in initial positions in Kannāḍa, Tuḷu and Telugu, while the voiceless variety alone is present in initial positions in Malayāḷam.
- (2) *ts* and *dz* which appear as the variants of initial *c*- and *j*- in Telugu before the dorsal vowels *a*, *o* and *u*.

There appears to be little doubt that these sounds are genuine affricates, and not stops as they are usually described to be. In group (1) the plosive element *c* or *j* is discernible in

³ Sanskrit *s* is a true dental; *c* and *j* are produced with the "upper flat surface of the tongue" against the palatal region, while in *ś* the "flat of the tongue operates against the forward part of the palatal arch." (Whitney's *Grammar*, pages 16 and 22.)

The descriptions of the sound *c* (ச) given by Tamil grammarians may be cited here :

Tolkāppiyam, *Sūtra* 89 of *Eluttadigāram* : சகாரஞ் சகார மிடநா வண்ணம் " *c* and *ś* are produced with the middle of the tongue and the palate."

Nannūl, *Sūtra* 79 : " *c* and *ś* are produced with the middle of the tongue and the middle of the hard palate."

For Tel, *ts* and *dz*, cf. Nannaya's *Sūtra* (10) : *addantyustālavyaścur-vakrasydnmithasavarnaśca*

the contact and release of the tongue-blade on the region of the mouth-roof whose position is denoted by 'g' in Jespersen's alphabetic notation. Immediately after the release of the stoppage, a fricative *ś* or *ž* follows, so that the sounds are homorganic with two constituents, viz., the plosive and the fricative.

In the peculiar Telugu affricates *ts* and *dz*, the plosive and the fricative elements are dental.

Telugu *c* and *j* appear to be slightly more forward sounds (i.e., between the positions 'f' and 'g' of Jespersen's notation), than the Malayalam or Tamil variety. In fact these Telugu sounds retain their values only when the front vowels *i* or *e* follow them immediately. If the immediately following vowel is dorsal the plosive element *c* or *j* changes into *t* or *d*, and the fricative *ś* or *ž* changes to *s* or *z*. This is why Telugu words always possess in initial positions the affricates *ts* or *dz* when they are followed immediately by dorsal vowels.

[C] Occurrence of these sounds in initial positions in different dialects.

Tamil.—The same symbol denotes *ś* and *c* in Tamil; while used singly it has the value of *ś*⁴ and when geminated it is evaluated as *cc* [= *ccf*]. *c* or *cc* usually never occurs in initial positions in Tamil. The value of *ś* is general for this Tamil initial fricative, whether followed by a front vowel or a dorsal vowel.

In the colloquial of certain districts and certain communities, however, this fricative becomes a dental *s*, when it is immediately followed by a dorsal vowel, e.g., *sāppādu* (meal), *sollu* (to speak), *suttu* (surrounding).

It may be noted that in these colloquials the dental *s*- is almost never heard when followed immediately by the front vowel -*i* or -*e*.

Sanskrit initial *s*- is transcribed by the Tamil symbol for *ś* or *c* except by Sanskrit-knowing scholars, who use a foreign *granthākṣara* symbol (स्) for this purpose. Sanskrit-knowing persons or those who come in contact with them give the correct value to initial *s*- of Sanskrit words, even when it is transcribed with the symbol for *ś* in Tamil; but among others sometimes the symbol has been confused with its native Tamil value, so much so that a Sanskrit word like *sakala*, transcribed as *स्ஸல* in Tamil is given the value *śagala*. Tadbhava words like *śiṅgam* (from Sanskrit *simha* 'lion'), are always pronounced with initial *ś*- except by pedants and purists. Cf. also the Tamil tadbhava adaptations *śantōḍam* (from Skt. *santoṣa*), *śulutti* (from Skt. *susupti*), etc.

Kannāḍa.—Native words appear to have initially both *c*-⁵ and *s*-. The value of *ś* for initial sounds does not usually appear in native words. The symbols for these sounds are all separate, the alphabet of Kannāḍa (unlike that of Tamil) being modelled on the Sanskrit system.

<i>c</i> :—	<i>cēlu</i> , <i>tēl</i> (scorpion)	cf. pan-Dr. <i>tēl</i> .
	<i>cadar</i> -, <i>kedar</i> (to be dispersed) ..	cf. Tam. <i>śidar</i> -, Tuḷu <i>kedar</i> -, <i>jadar</i> .
	<i>ciccu</i> (fire)	cf. Tam. <i>kittu</i> , Kann. <i>kiccu</i> , Tel. <i>ciccu</i> .
	<i>cikka</i> (small)	cf. Tam. <i>śir</i> -, Mal. <i>ciṟukkan</i> (boy).
	<i>civv</i> -, <i>civ</i> - (to peel)	cf. Tam. <i>śiv</i> -.
	<i>ciric</i> - (to titter)	cf. Tel. <i>kēr</i> -, Mal. <i>cirikk</i> -.
	<i>cembu</i> (bronze vessel)	cf. Tam. <i>śembu</i> .
<i>s</i> :—	<i>sāy</i> - (to die)	cf. Tam. <i>śā</i> -, Br. <i>kah</i> -.
	<i>śi</i> (sweet)	cf. Tam. <i>tī</i> , <i>tēn</i> .
	<i>śir</i> , <i>cir</i> -, <i>kir</i> - (to become angry, to hiss)	cf. Tam. <i>śiṟu</i> , Br. <i>kiṟeng</i> (abuse).

⁴ In certain districts (e.g., Tinnevely) *c*- appears to be the value given to initial *ś* of Tamil.

⁵ Initial *j*- in Kannāḍa native words occurs in *jēn* (honey) —cf. Tam. *tēn*-

jir-, *gir*- (to scratch) — „ „ *kir*-
jari- (to slide) — „ „ *śari*-

<i>suttu</i> (round about)	..	..	cf. Tam. <i>śut't'ru</i> .
<i>sôl-, tolag-</i> (to fail)	..	..	cf. Tam. <i>tôl-</i> .

Tuḷu.—Initially *c-*, *j-*, *s-* and *ś-* are found, the last-mentioned (in the colloquial of certain communities) alternating with *s-*.

<i>c- :-</i>	<i>cēlu, tēlu</i> (scorpion)	..	..	cf. Tam. <i>tēl</i> .
	<i>cāræ, târæ</i> (coconut-tree)	..	..	cf. Tam. <i>tālai</i> .
	<i>caḍpu</i> (leanness)	..	..	cf. Mal. <i>caḍappu</i> .
	<i>cīnti-</i> (to burn)	..	..	cf. Tam. <i>tīy-</i> (to scorch).
	<i>cū</i> (alternating with <i>sū, tū</i> , 'fire')	..	..	cf. Tam. <i>tū</i> (bright).
	<i>combu</i> (bronze vessel)	..	..	cf. Kann. <i>cembu</i> , Mal. <i>cembu</i> and Tam. <i>śembu</i> , all these being from <i>kem-</i> (red).
	<i>coli, soli, tōl</i> (skin)	..	..	cf. Tam. <i>tōl</i> .
<i>j- :-</i>	<i>jīñj, dīñj-</i> (to be crowded)	..	..	cf. Tam. <i>tiṅgu</i> .
	<i>jīræ</i> (small)	..	..	cf. Kann. <i>kir, gir, cinna</i> (small), Tam. <i>śīru</i> .
<i>s- :-</i>	<i>śīr-</i> (to hiss)	..	..	cf. Tam. <i>śīru</i> .
	<i>suḍu</i> (burning)	..	..	cf. Tam. <i>śuḍ-al</i> .
	<i>suḷi-</i> (to be peeled)	..	..	cf. Tam. <i>toli</i> .
	<i>sū, tū, hū</i> (fire)	..	..	cf. Tam. <i>tī</i> , Tam. <i>tu</i> (bright), Brāhūi <i>tū-be</i> (moon).
	<i>seli, telī</i> (to become clear)	..	..	cf. Tam. <i>telī</i> .

Note.—Tuḷu has a large number of sub-dialectal words with initial *s-*. A number of words appear in Tuḷu with the dialectal alternants *t-*, *s-*, or *h-*.

<i>ś- :-</i>	This sound alternates in some cases sub-dialectally with <i>s-</i> .			
	<i>śī</i> (sweet)	..	..	cf. Tam. <i>tī</i> , Kannada <i>śī</i> (sweet).
	<i>śīrd-</i> (to correct)	..	..	cf. Tam. <i>tīru-ttu</i> , Kann. <i>tidd-</i> .
	<i>śeṭṭ-</i> (to be spoiled)	..	..	cf. Tam. <i>keḍu</i> .

Note.—*ś-* followed by dorsal vowels is absent in Tuḷu, except in Sanskrit borrowings with initial *ś-*.

Telugu.—Native words usually show *c-* (before front vowels), *ts-* and *dz-* (before dorsal vowels).

c- (before front vowels) :—

<i>cīn-ts-</i> (to tear)	..	..	..	cf. Tam. <i>kīr-</i> , Kannada <i>gīr-</i> .
<i>citsu</i> (fire)	..	..	..	cf. Tam. <i>kiccu</i> and Kannada <i>ciccu</i> .
<i>citt-</i> (small)	}	..	..	cf. Tam. <i>śīru</i> , , Kannada <i>cinna</i> .
<i>cinna</i> (small)				
<i>cīrra</i> (anger)	..	..	..	cf. Tam. <i>śīr-</i> .
<i>civvu</i> (to peel)	..	..	..	cf. Tam. <i>śīv-</i> .
<i>cīr-</i> (to scratch)	..	..	..	cf. Tam. <i>kīr-</i> .
<i>cen-</i> (red)	..	..	..	cf. Tam. <i>śem-</i> , Kannada <i>kem-</i> .
<i>cēya</i> (hand)	..	..	..	cf. Tam. <i>kai</i> , Kann. <i>gey</i> , Gô. <i>kai</i> .
<i>cevi</i> (ear)	..	..	..	cf. Tam. <i>śevi</i> , Kannada <i>kibi</i> , Gôṇḍi <i>kavi</i> , etc.

j- before front vowels is very rare in native words.

ts (before dorsal vowels) :—

<i>tsats-</i> (to die)	..	..	..	cf. Tam. <i>śā-</i> , Kann. <i>śā-</i> , Malto <i>ke-</i> , Kurukh <i>khē</i> , Brāhūi <i>kah-</i> .
<i>tsûḍ-</i> (to see)	..	..	..	cf. Tulu <i>tû</i> , <i>sû</i> , Gô. <i>sur</i> , Kûi <i>sûr</i> .

dz (before dorsal vowels) :—

<i>dzâr-</i> (to slide)	..	..	..	cf. Tam. <i>śarakk-</i> (to slide).
<i>dzâlu</i> , <i>kâluva</i> (river, etc., stream)	..	..	..	cf. Tam. <i>śâl</i> (canal), <i>kâl-</i> (to flow).

s- appears in words like *sudî* (whirl).

Kûi.—*s-* is most common initially in native words of this dialect; neither *ś-* nor *c-* appears.

<i>s-</i> :—	<i>salba</i> (to go)	..	..	..	cf. Tam. <i>śel</i> .
	<i>sâva</i> (to die)	..	..	..	cf. Tam. <i>śā</i> .
	<i>sêm̐ba</i> (to be sweet)	..	..	..	cf. Tam. <i>tî</i> , <i>tên</i> (sweet).
	<i>sîva</i> (to give)	..	..	..	cf. Tel. <i>tiye-</i> , Gôṇḍi <i>sî-</i> , Kurukh <i>cî'i-</i> .
	<i>sûnja</i> (to sleep)	..	..	..	cf. Tam. <i>tûng-</i> , Brāhūi <i>tûgh</i> (to sleep).
	<i>supa</i> (to spit)	..	..	..	cf. Tam. <i>tupp-</i> , Kurukh <i>tup-</i> (to spit).
	<i>sûra</i> (to see)	..	..	..	cf. Telugu <i>tsûḍ</i> (to see).

j- :—Examples of *j-* words are rare.

Gôṇḍi.—The affricate in initial positions is rare in native words. *ś-* appears to be completely absent.

Instead, *s-* is very common.

In respect of the occurrence of initial fricatives, therefore, this dialect agrees with Kûi.

<i>s-</i> :—	<i>sâi</i> (to die)	..	..	..	cf. Tam. <i>śā</i> , Tulu <i>sai-</i> (to die), etc.
	<i>sî</i> (to give)	..	..	..	cf. Kûi <i>sî</i> .
	<i>sûr-</i> (to look out for)	..	..	..	cf. Kûi <i>sûr</i> (to see).
	<i>surr</i> (to cook bread)	..	..	..	cf. Tam. <i>śud-</i> (to burn).
	<i>sirit-</i> (to be set on edge)	..	..	..	cf. Tam., Kann. <i>tiri-</i> (to be turned).
	<i>sîkaṇṇi</i> (darkness)	..	..	..	cf. Tel. <i>cîkaṇṇi</i> (darkness), Tam. <i>tî</i> (fire).

Native *j-* words seem to be very rare.

Kurukh.—Judging from the lists of words in Grignard's Dictionary, one might say that *c-* occurs in native words.

<i>c-</i> :—	<i>cicc</i> (fire)	..	..	..	cf. Tam. <i>kittu</i> , Kann. <i>ciccu</i> .
	<i>cî'i</i> (to give)	..	..	..	cf. Kûi and Gôṇḍi <i>sî</i> .
	<i>cîr</i> (to scratch)	..	..	..	cf. Tam. <i>kîr</i> , Tel. <i>cîr</i> .

Most *s-* words appear to be foreign borrowings.

Brāhūi.—Complete lists are not available. I have selected the following from Bork's valuable compilation "Vorarbeiten zu einem Br.- Wörterbuch," and from Sir Denys Bray's "Grammar." An examination of these would show that the affricate is represented.

<i>c-</i> :—	<i>ca</i> <i>tar</i> }	(to understand)	..	..	cf. Tam. <i>teri-</i> (to know).
	<i>cuna-k</i>	(small, child)	..	..	cf. Tam. <i>sinna</i> (small).

s- :—Initial *s-* in native words appears to be a rarity. The following may be native :—

<i>sîl</i> (skin)	cf. Southern <i>tôl</i> (skin), Tulu <i>sôl</i> , <i>côl</i> .
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[D] *The possible mutual relationship of these initial affricates and sibilants.*

The following significant facts may be singled out as emerging from an examination of the lists given above :—

- (i) The affricate *c* appears to be widely prevalent in initial positions ; Kannāḍa, Tuḷu, Telugu, Malayāḷam, Kurukh and Brāhūi show *c*-, and among these Malayāḷam, Telugu and possibly Brāhūi and Kurukh favour only *c*-, while Kannāḍa and Tuḷu show a fairly large number of instances with *c*-.
- (ii) *s*- appears exclusively only in Kūi and Gōṇḍi.
- (iii) *ś*- appears to have become generalized in initial positions in Tamil.
- (iv) It will be noticed that *c*- and its voiced variety *j*- are in most instances followed by front vowels. We shall see below that these affricates are due to the palatalization of *k*-(*g*-) (in most instances) and of *t*- (in a few others), cognates with *k*- and *t*- being widespread in the Dravidian speeches. The few very rare cases of *c*- followed by definitely dorsal vowels [as in the rare sub-dialectal Tuḷu *cū* (fire) alternating with *tū* and *sū*] are presumably due to analogy with other *c*- words, as we know that such instances of *c*- followed by back vowels are far less popular and common than their counterparts with *s*-, which are invariably met with as popular variants of such rare cases with *c*- in the same dialect.

Initial *ś*- and *s*-.⁶

- (i) Wherever the affricates and sibilants are traceable to the palatalisation of *k*- or of *t*-, the process of change phonetically could not be otherwise than *c* > *ś* > *s* (see below).
- (ii) Tamil initial *ś*- colloquially sometimes changes to *s*-, when followed by dorsal vowels. The foreblade of the tongue, under the influence of the dorsal vowels, moves forward here to the dental position. The secondary character of the dental *s*- is obvious here.
- (iii) The greater frequency in Tuḷu and Kannāḍa of *s*-⁷ forms followed by dorsal vowels also indicates here the action of dorsality.
- (iv) The production of the dental affricates of Telugu is directly conditioned by the immediately following dorsal vowels. Cf., e.g., *rāsulu*, the plural of *rāśi*.

In all these cases, the dental *s* appears to be secondary. It is *prima facie* possible, therefore, that *s*- in initial positions arose originally as a development of older sounds and became generalized in initial positions in the central Dravidian dialects Kūi and Gōṇḍi.

Relationship of c-, the affricate, to the sibilants.

- (i) Phonetically *c*- is more closely related to *ś*- than to *s*-, since *c*- itself is composed of the front plosive [c] and *ś*. The point of articulation is the same for both *c*- and *ś*, and in palatalization (of *k*- and *t*-) the affricate is anterior to *ś*.

⁶ The so-called "change" of *s*- to *c*- or *-cc*- (*vide* Kittel's *Gr. of Kannāḍa*, page 178) in compounds like *muccere* [= *mu*+*sere*], *muccāl* [= *mu*+*sāl*], is probably not a "change" or even a "reversion," but only a preservation in such compounds (where the initial component has a short vowel) of the older value of the affricate *c*.

⁷ *Vide* my paper on "Tuḷu Initial Sibilants" in *QJMS*, January 1932.

(ii) This relationship accounts for the two values *c* and *ś* given to the symbol *ç* of Tamil. When the symbol appears singly in initial or medial positions, it is evaluated as *ś*, while geminated *çç* in medial positions is pronounced as *cc* [= *ccf*]

That the initial *ś*- of Tamil (in at least a number of instances) is not original with reference to *c*- occurring in other dialects in corresponding positions, but may be the resultant of a uniform simplification of the affricate, is what we are led to infer from the following facts :—

- (a) the occurrence of *c*- in initial positions in all Dravidian dialects (either partially or exclusively) except in Kûi and Gôṇḍi where, as we have observed above, the dental *s*- corresponding to *c*- or *ś*- has become uniform ;
- (b) the uniform occurrence of *c*- in initial positions in the dialects of Jaffna and Tinneveli, and in Malayâlam, a dialect closely allied to Tamil,—which in this particular feature probably reflects an older stage common to these two dialects ;
- (c) the traditional view of Tamil grammarians that *ç* stands for *c* [*cf*] and not for *ś* ;
- (d) the historical development of these sounds, which (as we shall see below) points on the whole to the affricate being anterior to the sibilant wherever palatalization has occurred.

All things considered, therefore, it would appear that in a very large number of cases of palatalization the relationship of the affricate *c*- [*cf*] and the fricatives *ś*- and *s*- in initial positions would stand thus :— *c*- → *ś*- → *s*-.

Among the dialects, generally speaking, the affricate sound is most widely prevalent in initial positions.

The palatal sibilant appears generalized in initial positions only in Tamil, and in Tuḷu it alternates with *s* sub-dialectally.

The dental *s*- has become generalized in initial positions in Kûi and Gôṇḍi only, while in Kannāḍa and Tuḷu, it appears beside other sounds.

[E] *Probable historical origin of the affricates and sibilants.*

As the above postulate is made merely on the basis of the occurrence of the sounds in the different dialects, it is bound to be tentative till it is confirmed by the actual historical development of these sounds in the past.

The question of the origin of these sounds has, therefore, to be examined next ; and this can be done only with reference to initial sounds of allied forms of different dialects.

(1) The initial affricates or sibilants of a number of Dravidian forms appear to be connected with *k*-⁸ followed by *front* vowels. A number of instances have already been indicated in the lists given above ; the following are others :

<i>k</i> -	<i>c</i> -, <i>ś</i> or <i>s</i> -
Kannāḍa <i>kes</i> -, <i>kem</i> - (red)	Kann. <i>cen</i> -
Brâhûi <i>xisun</i> (red)	Tam. <i>śem</i> -

⁸ For a detailed discussion of the instances in Dravidian of the palatalization of original *k*- to affricates and sibilants, see my paper on "The *k*-dialects of Dravidian," *Educational Review*, August 1931. A line of demarcation could be drawn between Tamil, Mal. and Telugu on the one hand and the rest of Dravidian on the other, in respect of palatalization of *k*- in a number of "criterion-words." Cases of initial *j*- ultimately traceable to *k*- also exist, some of them being voiced from *c*-, and others being directly connected with *g*- (*k*-).

Kurukh <i>xēs</i> (red, blood)	Mal. <i>cen-</i>
Malto <i>xes</i> (red)	
Kannada <i>kibi</i> (ear)	Tamil <i>sevi</i>
Tulu <i>kebi</i> (ear)	Mal. <i>cevi</i>
Gôṇḍi <i>kavi</i> (ear)	Tel. <i>ceri</i>
Kurukh <i>xebda</i>	
Brāhūi <i>xaf</i>	
Tel. <i>kittu</i> (fire)	Kurukh <i>cicc</i>
Kann. <i>kiccu</i>	Tel. <i>ciccu</i>
Tam. <i>kittu</i>	Kodagu <i>ciccu</i>
Tulu. <i>kiccu</i>	
Gôṇḍi <i>kis</i>	
Kann. <i>kiru</i> , <i>kittu</i> (small)	Tam. <i>śiru</i>
Tel. <i>kir</i>	Brāhūi <i>cunak</i>
Tulu <i>kinna</i>	Telugu <i>cir</i> , <i>ciṭṭ-</i>
	Kann. <i>cir</i>
Kannada <i>kettu</i> (to chip off)	Tam. <i>settu</i>
	Mal. <i>cettu</i>
	Tel. <i>cekku</i>
Kannada <i>key</i> (to do)	Tam. <i>sey</i>
Gôṇḍi <i>ki</i>	Mal. <i>cey</i>
Tel. <i>gey</i>	Tel. <i>cey</i>
Kūi <i>ki</i>	
Brāhūi <i>ka-</i> (to do)	
Kann. <i>key</i> (field)	Tam. <i>śey</i>
Burganḍi <i>key</i>	Tel. <i>cé-nu</i>
Tulu <i>key</i>	Mal. <i>cey</i> in <i>pun-cey</i> , <i>nan-cey</i>
Kannada <i>kiṛe</i> , <i>keṛe</i> (tank)	Tam. <i>śirai</i>
	Mal. <i>cera</i>
	Tel. <i>ceruvu</i>

The following facts may be noted in connection with this change :—

- (a) The sibilant *ś* appears more commonly in Tamil in the above instances, the affricate *c-* in Tel. and Mal. mainly ; while Kannada (along with Tulu and the central and north Dravidian dialects) shows *k-* more commonly. The change, however, is not absolutely uniform, since on the one side *k-* forms are met with in Tam., Tel., etc., and on the other, instances of palatalization occur in Kann., Tulu, etc.
- (b) The influence of the front vowel is undeniable in these instances in changing *k-* into the sibilant or affricate. Phonetically, palatalized *k-* becomes [c-], i.e., the stoppage of the plosive is formed in the region of the mouth-roof, by the posterior portion of the foreblade of the tongue. As this [c] is very unstable

in Dravidian, it should easily have changed to [*cʃ*], i.e., *c-*, with the production of the sibilant-fricative *ś*.

(c) In the above view, therefore, *k-* could be considered to be original.

If it is asked why this change did not affect all instances of *k-* followed by front vowels, we can only suggest that, judging from the above instances which are very ancient (their antiquity being attested by their occurrence in all dialects), the change was possibly active only at one particular stage in the past in connection with words where the palatalizing influence of the front vowels was strong. It is also possible that certain phonetic factors prevented the change in other cases; these factors are indicated by me in my paper on the "*k-* dialects of Dravidian."

(2) *k-* in the following corresponds to the affricate or sibilant in their cognates; but it will be noted that in some dialects, in the stead of *-a* we have *front* vowels also, so that the change here of *k-* to the fricative or affricate might have been through the palatalizing influence of the front tonality of *a* as attested by the existence of alternating front vowels in some dialects.

(a)	{	Brâhûi <i>ka</i> (to die)	<i>śâ-</i> , <i>śâ-</i> of the south.
		Kurukh <i>khê</i> (to die)	Gôṇḍi <i>śâi-</i>
		Malto <i>qe</i> (to die)	Kûi <i>śâ-</i>
			Tulu <i>śâi-</i>

We have to note in this connection that—

(a) there are *absolutely* no instances in Dravidian of the change of *k-* to affricates or palatal fricatives, *when followed exclusively by back vowels*, *k-* in such positions being invariably retained in the southern dialects and being changed (in some instances) to *x-* in Brâhûi, Kurukh and Malto;

(b) that even in this group the basic vowel of some of the extant forms is definitely 'palatal,'—a fact which attests the probable association of front tonality with the radical vowel of the common original base;

(c) and, therefore, it is possible that the affricates and fricatives in this group resulted from palatalization. (For further details, see my paper on "The *k-* dialects of Dr." in the *Educational Review*, August 1931.)

(3) The correspondence of initial *t-* followed by front vowels to affricates and fricatives is observable in the following inter-dialectal comparisons. It will be noted that, while we can classify, on a dialectal basis, instances of a similar correspondence in the case of *k-* followed by front vowels, and roughly demarcate the "*k-* speeches" of Dr. from the "*non-k-* speeches" (*vide supra*, page 148), no such demarcation is possible in the case of *t-* followed by front vowels.

We can only cite the few instances available from the dialects.

(a)	Kannada	.. <i>cêlu</i> , <i>têl</i>	~ cf. Tam. <i>têl</i> .
		<i>śi-</i> , <i>tî</i> (to be scorched)	~ Tam.-Mal. <i>tî</i> (fire), Brâhûi <i>tî-n</i> (scorched).
Tulu	..	<i>jên</i> (honey)	~ Tam. <i>tên</i> (honey).
		<i>śikk-</i> , <i>cikk-</i> , <i>tikk-</i> (to be crowded)	~ cf. Mal. <i>tikk-</i> (to be crowded).
		<i>cînt-</i> , <i>śînt-</i> , <i>śînt-</i> (to burn)	~ Tam.- Mal. <i>tî</i> (fire).
		<i>câræ</i> , <i>târæ</i> (coconut tree)	~ Tam. <i>tâlai</i> .

	<i>cēlu, tēlu</i>	~ Tam. <i>tēl</i> , Kann. <i>tēl</i> , Brāhūi <i>telh</i> .
	<i>sī, sī</i> (sweet)	~ Tam.-Mal. <i>tēn</i> (sweetness, honey) connected with <i>tīm-</i> , <i>tī</i> (sweet), Kurukh <i>ti-</i> (to be sweet), Tel. <i>tiyya</i> (sweet), etc.
	<i>cē-</i> , beside (sub-dialectal) <i>tē-</i>	~ South Dr. <i>tēy-</i> (to be rubbed).
Kūi	.. <i>seh-</i> (to be entangled)	~ cf. <i>tikk-</i> of Mal. above.
	<i>semba</i> (sweet)	~ cf. <i>tēn, tī</i> (sweet) above.
	<i>sī -k-</i> (to scorch))	~ Tam.-Mal. <i>tī</i> (fire), Kann. <i>sik</i> (burnt black).
	<i>sī-</i> (to give)	~ Tel. <i>tiy-</i> (to give), Br. <i>tin-</i> .
Gōṇḍi	.. <i>sī-</i> (to give)	~ Vide above.
	<i>sikaṭi</i> (darkness)	~ Tam.-Mal. <i>tī</i> (to be scorched).
Kurukh	.. <i>cī-</i> (to give)	~ see <i>sī</i> of Kūi and Gōṇḍi above.

Instances of this type are found in Tuḷu, Kūi and Kannāḍa. Even in these dialects the change is not uniform and regular, as they possess numerous words with an unchanged *t-* in initial positions followed by front vowels.

(b) A few forms with initial *t-* (followed by *dorsal* vowels) of some dialects correspond to forms of other dialects with initial sibilants.

(i) Ancient forms :—

Tuḷu <i>sū, hū</i> (to see)	} cf. Tuḷu <i>tū-</i> (to see), Malto <i>tonḍ-</i> , <i>tunḍ-</i> (to see), Kann. <i>tōṛ</i> (to be visible), Tam. <i>tōnd'r-</i> .
Tel. <i>tsūd-</i> (to see)	.. ..
Kūi <i>sūr-</i>	.. ..
Br. <i>hūr-</i>	.. ..
Gōṇḍi <i>sūr</i> (to look out for), <i>hūr</i> (to see)	.. ..

(ii) A few others where the sibilants corresponding to *t-* are found in Tuḷu and Kūi mainly.

Tulu <i>solika</i> , alternating with <i>tolī</i> (skin).	} ..	cf. Tam. <i>toḡal, toli, tōl</i> (skin), Tel. <i>tōl</i> , Kann. <i>tōl</i> .
Kannāḍa <i>solī, tōl, toḡal</i> (skin)		
Tuḷu <i>sōl-</i> , <i>tōl-</i> (to be defeated)	..	cf. Tam. <i>tōl-</i> (to be defeated), <i>tolai</i> (to fail), Kannāḍa <i>tolagu</i> , Tel. <i>tolāṅgu</i> .
Kann. <i>sōl</i> (, ,)		
Tulu <i>supu-</i> } (to spit)	.. ..	cf. Tam. <i>tupp-</i> , Kurukh <i>tup-</i> .
Kūi <i>supa</i> }		
Kūi <i>sūnja</i> (to sleep)	.. ..	cf. <i>sn. tūṅ-</i> (to sleep); Brāhūi <i>tūgh-</i> (to sleep); <i>tūṅgan</i> (asleep); Kurukh <i>tūṅul</i> (dream) ?

Kann. *sōge, tōke* (tail, feather) cf. Tam. *tōḡ-ai* (tail > peacock).

(iii) Apart from the above, there are a few instances of the sub-dialectal alternation of *t-*, *s-* (and *h-*) in Tuḷu, when followed by front vowels, as in *tēli-*, *seli-*, *heli* (to become clear), and in the adaptations, (from Skt.) *sēja, tēja* (lustre), *sīṛṭa, tīṛṭha*, etc. Palatalization cannot be postulated here, in as much as the intermediate stages with *c-* or *ś-* are not represented either in Tuḷu or in any other Dr. speech. I would ascribe the change of *t-* > *s-* here to analogic fricativization.

(i) The correspondences of *t*-forms to others with initial sibilants or affricates do not appear to be very extensive or widespread inter-dialectally.

(ii) *t*-forms are retained extensively in large numbers in all dialects except in Tuḷu, where *t*-alternates with *s*- or *h*- in a large number of instances.

(iii) The problem of the relationship of *t*- to the initial sibilants and affricates is one beset with many difficulties. Few as are the instances that raise this question, the chronology of the change will have to be determined separately in each instance. This, however, is not now possible owing to lack of materials; and so we have to content ourselves with a few general perspectives.

t- in connection with front vowels in medial positions is known in the dialects to change into the sibilant or affricate (cf. Tamil *aḍittu*, *aḍiccu*, 'having beaten,' etc.) on account of the influence of the vowel which raises the point of articulation of the tongue from the dental region to the alveolar position. A similar change (i.e., of palatalization) may safely be postulated in at least a few cases for the correspondences of words with *t*- followed by *front* vowels on the one hand, and their cognates with initial sibilants or affricates on the other.

(iv) So far as the parallels with immediately following *dorsal* vowels are concerned, two sub-groups may be distinguished (pointed out as (b) (i) and (ii) above, viz., one, comprised of an ancient group of instances occurring in all dialects; and the second, consisting of a few instances in Kūi and Tuḷu chiefly, and rarely in Kannaḍa; (b) (iii) is an exclusively Tuḷu group.

Is it possible for us to envisage the view that Dravidian initial *t*- may here have been secondary to *s*- ?

(I) Tamil appears to have adopted and assimilated some Sanskrit words having initial fricatives, by changing these into *t*-, e.g., Skt. *śrī* ~ Tamil *tīru*; *senā* (army) ~ *tānai*.

(II) Tuḷu changes initial *s*- or *c*- of some Sanskrit words into *t*-, e.g.,

Skt. <i>sañci</i>	~	Tuḷu <i>tañji</i>
„ <i>saṅgati</i>	~	„ <i>tañiati</i> .
„ <i>candana</i>	~	„ <i>tannana</i> .

Besides, a few cases of secondary *t*- (*tai* < *sai* 'to die.' *tett* < *sett*.) occur in native Tuḷu words sub-dialectally.

Do these facts in any way warrant the postulate that *t*- in the instances given here is secondary to the sibilant-fricative ?

An answer to this question should take into consideration the following facts :—

(i) Native *t*-forms are very widespread in the dialects, and the corresponding forms with the sibilants or affricates appear largely only in sub-dialectal forms of Tuḷu and in connection with a few forms (comparatively speaking) in the other dialects.

(ii) The few cases of the change of *s*- to *t*- in Tamil adaptations of Sanskrit words noted above could be explained as being due to different phonetic influences.

(iii) Tuḷu adaptations with initial *t*- of Sanskrit words with initial *s*- are probably due to the influence of the numerous sub-dialectal alternant forms with initial *t*- and *s*-.

(iv) In none of the native instances with *s*-, can we prove the sound to be original; on the other hand, the corresponding *t*-forms are so widespread as to suggest *t*- to be original.

These facts make it difficult for us to propound the view that would regard *t*- as secondary to the sibilant.

Nevertheless, one cannot completely rule out the *bare possibility* of at least rare cases of initial *t*- (in unrecognizable ancient loan-words) being secondary to the sibilant: Cf. for instance the suggestion raised by the correspondence: Tam. *tan* (cold) in *tanṇir* (cold water) ~ Tuḷu *san* ~ Tuḷu *saṭi*, *caṭi* ~ IA *jala*, *jala* (water). Nothing unequivocal can therefore be said in regard to the relationship of all *t*- words and their cognates with initial affricates and sibilants; but in my opinion one may tentatively postulate fricativization in (3) (b) on the fairly firm ground available for us, viz., that the *t*- forms here, which are undoubtedly native, are so very widespread in the dialects and that the corresponding *s*- cognates are so few and so restricted in occurrence.

I. Palatalization of *k*- and *t*- before front vowels.

(1)

Tam. <i>ś</i> -	~ <i>k</i> -
Tel., Mal. [Kann., Tuḷu] <i>c</i> -	~ <i>k</i> -
[Kann., Tuḷu <i>j</i> -, as in Kann. <i>jīṛ</i> , <i>gīṛ</i> and in Tuḷu <i>jadaṛ</i> -, <i>gedaṛ</i> -]	~ <i>g</i> -(<i>k</i> -)
[Kann. <i>s</i> - alternating with <i>c</i> - and <i>k</i> -, as in <i>sīṛ</i> -, <i>cīṭ</i> -, <i>kīṛ</i> - 'to be angry']	~ <i>k</i> -
[Tuḷu <i>ś</i> - beside <i>c</i> -, e.g., <i>śett</i> -, <i>cett</i> and Tam. <i>keḍ</i> -]	~ <i>k</i> -

(2)

[Kann., Tuḷu <i>c</i> - beside <i>t</i> -]	~ <i>t</i> -
[Tuḷu <i>j</i> - beside <i>d</i> - (<i>t</i> -)]	~ <i>d</i> -(<i>t</i> -)
[Kann., Tuḷu <i>s</i> - (a few only)]	~ <i>t</i> -
[Kûi, Gôṇḍi <i>s</i> - (<*ś-<*c-<t)]	~ <i>t</i> -

II. Fricativization of *t*-

Tuḷu, Tel., Kûi, Gôṇḍi <i>s</i> - (in forms for "seeing")	~ <i>t</i> -
Sub-dialectal Tuḷu [Kûi, Kann.] <i>s</i> - in (b) ii	~ <i>t</i> -
„ Tuḷu <i>s</i> - in (b) iii before front vowels	~ <i>t</i> - analogic fricativization.

[F] Conclusion.

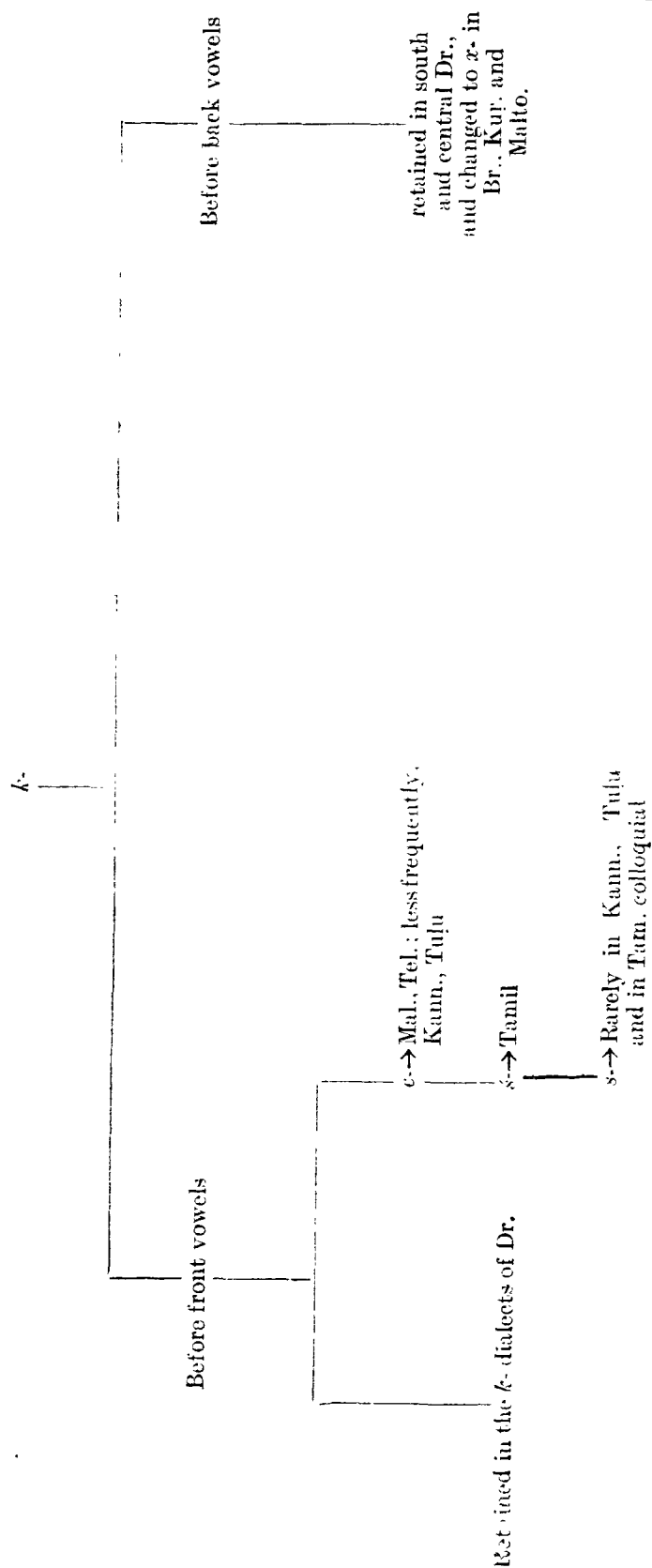
(i) The initial affricates and sibilant fricatives of Dravidian do not (so far as we can see) appear to be original in a large number of instances,—a fact which emerges from the confrontation of inter-dialectal instances and from our reconstruction of the probable history of these sounds.

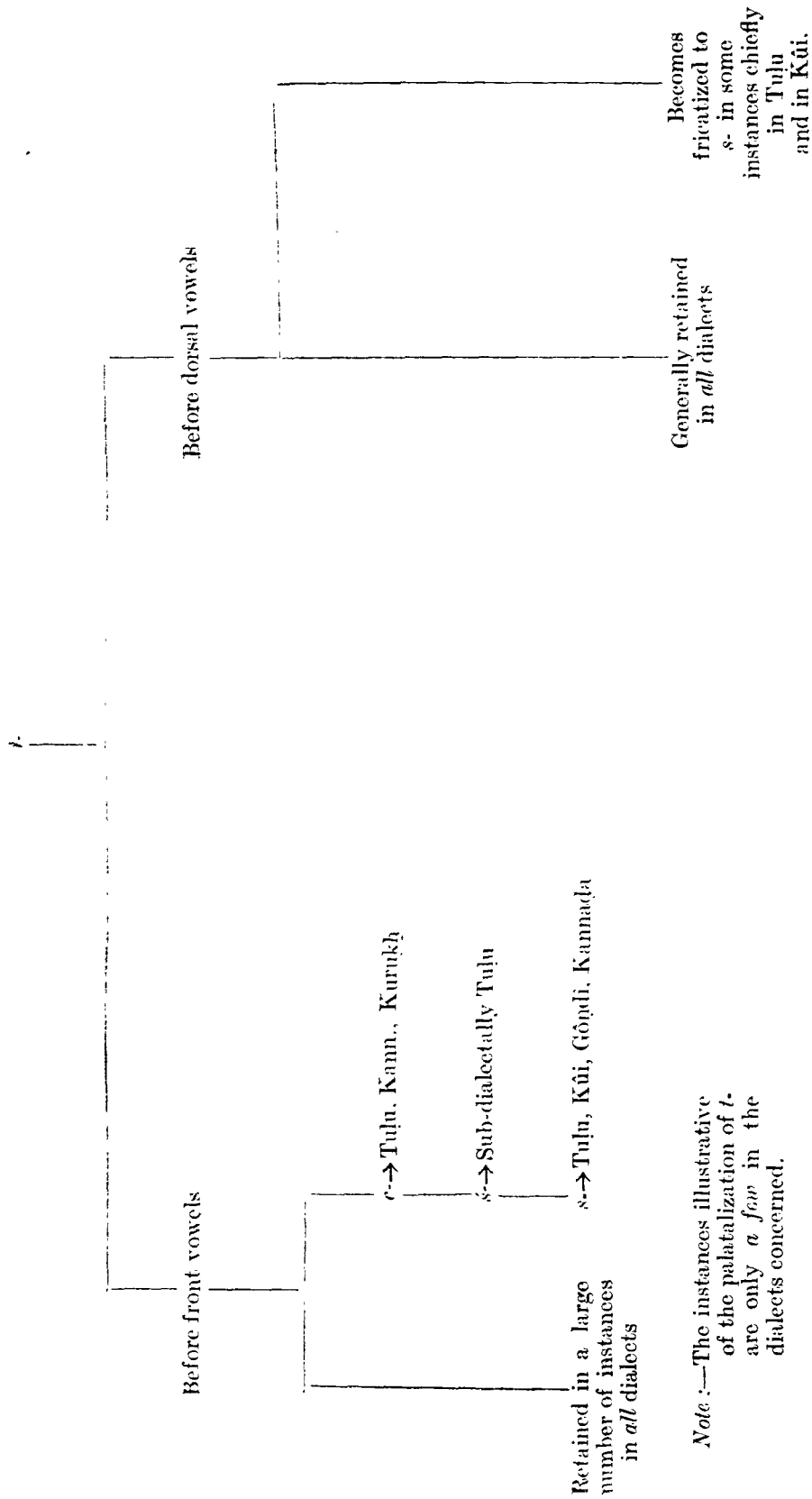
(ii) A number of these sibilant and affricates result from palatalization of an original *k*-, which changed initially to the affricate [c] through the stage of the unstable palatal plosive [c], and then in certain dialects developed into *ś*- or *s*- (as the case may be).

(iii) Another group 3 (a) was possibly the result of the palatalization of older *t*- by front vowels.

(iv) A very small group of forms mainly confined to Tuḷu and Kûi show the dental sibilant *s*-, which, so far as we can judge now, seem to be due to the fricativization of original *t*-.

The results we have arrived may all be graphically represented thus:





II.

THE LIP-FRICATIVE *v*-.[A] *Distribution.*

A marked cleavage is noticeable among the dialects. While Tamil, Malayâlam, Kûi, Telugu and Gôṇḍi show almost exclusively the fricative *v*- initially, the other dialects, Kannaḍa, Tulu, Kurukh and Brâhûi, show *b*- instead of *v*- in initial positions of corresponding words.

Tamil and Malayâlam completely fight shy of initial *b*- in native words. In Kûi and Telugu, the usual rule favours *v*-, but in a very small number of words *b*- appears on account of the influence of certain phonetic factors capable of being defined in each case. Initial *b*- in Gôṇḍi native words is confined to a few interrogatives, where *b*- is a secondary development.

[B] *The phonetic values of the Dravidian fricative v-*.

Though the old Tam. grammars describe the sound as a lip-teeth one, in Tamil and Malayâlam the usual value given to it is only that of a bilabial, where the lips remain far more apart than for [w] and make only a slight movement towards each other. There is a slight rounding of the lips also, though never to the extent that we find in the enunciation of English [w].

While the uneducated masses use only *v*- in Kannaḍa and Telugu, educated speakers sometimes bring out the lip-teeth sound [v] by raising the lower lip towards the upper row of teeth. This [v] does not however possess the tenseness associated with English [v].

The voiceless varieties [F] and [f] are not heard in Dravidian except in Toda and in Cochin State Bôya.

The fricative *v* should be distinguished from the dorsal glide *ǃ*, which characteristically appears in connection with dorsal vowels in Dravidian. While there is an appreciable forward and upward movement of the lips in the production of the full bilabial *v*, this movement is only very slight in the production of the glide.

This glide appears in initial and medial positions of Dravidian words in connection with the dorsal vowels *a*, *u*, *o*.

[C] *Occurrence of v-*.

Tamil *v*- appears only before the front vowels *-i* and *-e* and before the vowel *-a* with a front tonality.

Words beginning with *vu*- or *vo*- are absent in Tamil, though words beginning with *u* or *o* (and *a* also) have the dorsal glide *ǃ*- incorporated initially in actual speech.

Malayâlam : The remarks made above are true of Malayâlam also.

These two dialects have so great an aversion to initial *b*- that Sanskrit words with initial *b*- are adapted with initial *v*- or more commonly *p*-. For example:—Mal. *vâlyam* for Skt. *bâlyam* (childhood); Tam. *vâḷammâl* for Skt. *bâlâmba*, a name; Tam. *putpudam* for Skt. *budbuda*, etc.

Telugu : This dialect shows *v*- in most cases where *v*- appears in Tamil and Malayâlam. In few instances *b*- appears :—

Tel.	Tam.-Mal.
<i>baṇḍi</i> (cart)	<i>vaṇḍi</i>
<i>benga</i> (sorrow)	Base <i>veg</i> -
<i>belanku</i> (brightness)	Base <i>vel</i> -

Whether these words are borrowings from Kannaḍa or not, one cannot say owing to the uncertainty surrounding the chronological history of many Dr. forms like these. If they are really native in Telugu, one can only suggest that the nasal sounds in these words

may have exercised a regressive influence on an original *v-*, and by inducing closure of the lips converted it to *b-*. It is to be noted that such instances with initial *b-* (corresponding to *v-* of Tamil) are remarkably few in Telugu.

Tuḷu, Kannaḍa, Kurukh and Brāhūi :

There are absolutely no instances of native forms with the full initial bilabial *v-* in these dialects ; in their stead *b-* forms are found.

Kūi : *v-* forms are predominant, and they correspond regularly to the *v-* forms of Tamil-Malayālam. A few instances of *b-* forms are the following :—

bonḍi (for the sake of)cf. Mal. *vēṇḍi* in phrases like *ayā!ku vēṇḍi* (for his sake).

bēṇḍi (contrariness)cf. Tam. *vēṇḍā* (not necessary), Kann. *bēḍā*.

bai, *imbai* (who ?) where Aphesis has operated.

Gōṇḍi : *v-* forms are regular. A few *b-* forms are the following :—The interrogatives : *bōl*, *bōr* (who ?), *bega* (why ?), *bappōr* (when ?), etc., etc.

It is not easy to explain the initial *b-* of these Gōṇḍi words ; either, these forms are the results of aphæresis (as in Kūi *bāi*, 'who,' from *imbai*, etc.), or the initial *b-* is the development of the on-glide *ṽ*- appearing before an original interrogative particle *ā* with a dorsal tonality. Cf. Tuḷu *vā* (which ?, what ?) from *ā*.

[D] Probable relationship of *v-* and *b-*.

The conspicuous cleavage appearing among the dialects raises the question as to which of these two sounds may be the original in Dravidian.

In this connection the relationship of *-v-* to *-b-* in medial positions of Dravidian words may be significant.

The fact that Sanskrit *b-* appears sometimes as *v-* in Tamil-Malayālam need not at all raise the presumption of *b-* being the original in native words also. The fondness of Tamil and Malayālam for *v* might sufficiently account for the adaptation of Sanskrit *b* as *v*.

The problem can now be approached only from the standpoint of native forms.

An ancient affix *-v-* does duty in Tamil, Kannaḍa and Telugu for the formation of certain grammatical categories :—Future-aoristic tense, noun-derivatives, causatives, etc. Tamil shows the use of this *v* in its most elementary state in such cases, and these are confirmed by analogies in the other dialects also. In Tamil, Kannaḍa and Malayālam this *v* changes into *b* (and sometimes into *p*) under certain conditions :—

These latter are :—

(a) The influence of a neighbouring nasal, e.g., *kāṇ* (to see)+*v*, producing the future stem *kāṇb-*; *uṇ* (to eat)+*v*>*uṇb-*.

(b) The influence of accent in *kāritas* leading to the closure of lips and the conversion of *-v-* to the geminated surd *-pp-*, e.g., *kārita* bases like *eḍu* (to take), *kuḷi* (to take a bath), etc.+*-v-* give the future stems *eḍupp-*, *kuḷipp-*, etc. A similar phenomenon is observable in the bases of *vi-* causatives of Tamil also.

The base-extensions *-v-*, *-b-* and *-p-* of Kūi furnish instances of a parallel change :—

Normal	..	..	..	..	..	<i>sāva</i> (to die)
Influence of nasal	..	..	..	..	..	{ <i>tinb-</i> (to eat) <i>uṇb</i> (to drink)
Kāritas and causatives	..	..	..	..	..	<i>tōsp-</i> (to show).

These facts raise the question whether *v-* may not have been original in initial positions also, and the initial *b-* words corresponding to Tamil words with initial *v-* may be secondary. The exact reasons for the uniform development of initial *b-* in what we might term the " *b-* dialects of Dravidian " [Kannaḍa, Tuḷu, Kurukh, Brāhūi] remain, however, to be investigated and clarified further.

III.

THE BACK FRICATIVE *x*-

The sound transcribed as *kh* by Sir Denys Bray in his *Grammar* appears to be the velar *x*; while the Kurukh sound (also transcribed as *kh*) seems, from the description given by Father Grignard, to partake also of the value of the uvular spirant *χ*. I have represented both these sounds with the symbol *x*-⁹ in the following lists.

South and Central Dravidian <i>k</i> -	Kurukh <i>x</i> -	Kurukh <i>k</i> -	Brâhûi <i>x</i> -	Brâhûi <i>k</i> -	Malto <i>q</i> - (<i>x</i>)
I					
<i>kaṇ</i> (eye) ..	<i>xan</i>		<i>xan</i>		<i>xan</i>
[Kann.] <i>kibi</i> (ear) cf.	<i>xeb-da</i>		<i>xaf</i>		<i>xeṭvu</i>
Gôṇḍi <i>kavi</i>					
<i>kây</i> - (to be hot)	<i>xây</i>		cf. <i>xârar</i>		<i>xe-</i>
[Kann.] <i>kandu</i> (child)	<i>xadd</i>				<i>xad</i> (child)
etc.					
<i>kay</i> , <i>key</i> (hand)	<i>xeḱkâ</i>				
[Kann.] <i>kes</i> - (red)	<i>xes</i> - (red)		<i>xis-un</i> (red)		<i>xes</i> (red)
<i>kutt</i> - (to dig)	<i>xutt</i> -		<i>xutt</i> -		
<i>kul-uṅg</i> - (to be shaken)			<i>xul</i> - (to fear)		
<i>kal</i> (stone)	? <i>xajj</i> (mud, earth) ?		<i>xal</i>		? <i>xel</i> (field)
<i>kây</i> (fruit)	<i>xânj</i>				<i>xânj</i> :
<i>koy</i> (to reap)	<i>xoy</i> -				<i>xoy</i> -
<i>kâl</i> (leg) ..	<i>xedd</i> (foot)				<i>xed</i> (leg)
<i>koṇḍ</i> - [past par-	<i>xoṇḍ</i> - (to bring together)		? cf. <i>xul</i> (womb)		
ticiples of <i>koḷ</i> - 'to take on,' appear- ing in <i>koṇḍu vâ</i> 'bring!' and in the contracted forms <i>koṇḍâ</i> , 'bring here!' etc.					
Gôṇḍi <i>kors</i> - (to sprout)	<i>xôr</i> - (to shoot out new leaves)		cf. <i>xar</i> - (to sprout out) <i>xar-un</i> (green)		
II					
cf. <i>kâ-l</i> (to go, move); <i>kâl</i> (stalk, branch, leg)		<i>kâ</i> - (to go)		<i>ka</i> - (to go)	
[Kûi] <i>kâ</i> [motion par- ticle]					
<i>kaḍa</i> - (to cross) ..		<i>kaṭa</i> - (to take across)			
[Gôṇḍi] <i>kaṭ</i> - (to go across)		<i>kaṭṭ</i> - (to cross river)			

⁹ Sir Denys Bray describes the sound (p. 28 of his *Gr.*) thus: "*kh* is pronounced like the Persian-Arabic *ḫ*, i.e., like *ch* in German and in the Scotch word *loch*."

Kurukh *kh* is described by Grignard thus: "The bottom of the throat and the upper portion of the windpipe being kept well open, pronounce the sound *h*; the resulting broad sound will be a satisfactory approximation to the pronunciation of *kh*."

Droese's description of Malto *q*- shows that it may be identical with Kurukh *x*.

South and Central Dravidian <i>k</i> -	Kurukh <i>x</i> -	Kurukh <i>k</i> -	Brâhûi <i>x</i> -	Brâhûi <i>k</i> -	Malto
<i>kîl</i> (below) <i>kîḍa</i> - (to lie down)		<i>kîya</i> , <i>kîla</i> (below) <i>kîḍ</i> - (to put to bed); <i>kîr</i> - (to turn back)		<i>kî</i> -, <i>ke</i> -	
<i>kur-ugu</i> (to be shortened)				<i>kur</i> - (to roll up); <i>kurr</i> - (to be shortened)	<i>kir</i> - (to turn round)
<i>kirugir</i> - (whirling) <i>kîll</i> - (to pinch) .. [Kûi-Gôṇḍi] <i>kis</i> - (to pinch)		<i>kiss</i> - (to pinch)			
<i>kûḍ</i> - (to be joined)		<i>kuḍ</i> - (to string thread)			
cf. <i>sâ</i> -, <i>sai</i> , etc. (to die)		<i>khê</i> '- (to die)		<i>kah</i> (to die)	<i>ke</i> - (to die)
Tam. <i>kar-ai</i> (bank of river)				<i>karra</i> k (river-bank)	

The following points are noteworthy in the above list :—

(a) The velar fricative *x*- of Kurukh and Brâhûi is a special development in these north Dravidian speeches; Malto in corresponding positions shows also *x*. None of the southern and central Dravidian speeches show *x*- in initial positions but only *k*- (or *g*- in some dialects rarely). *x*- in Kurukh, Brâhûi and Malto may very probably be secondary growths in these dialects. The factors which influenced this secondary change in these dialects are not clear; but possibly the frequency in Kurukh and Brâhûi of loan-words (Persian and Arabic) with initial *x*- may have been a contributory factor.

(b) Both in Brâhûi and in Kurukh there are words with *k*- (II in list above) corresponding to *k*- words of the rest of Dravidian. What exactly prevented the change here of the original Dravidian plosive *k*- to *x*-, as in the other words adduced in the list, is a matter demanding enquiry. It is possible that (i) the spirantization was more active before back vowels than before front ones, and (ii) the existence of certain Indo-Aryan loan-words with *k*- may have exercised in some cases a preventive influence.

MISCELLANEA.

FRANCISCO PELSEAERT IN INDIA.

When I was preparing for publication the version of Pelsaert's *Remonstrantie*, made in conjunction with Professor P. Geyl (*Jahangir's India*, Cambridge, 1926), I was able to find very few data to show the extent of the personal experience on which Pelsaert based his observations. The gap is filled to some extent by incidental references to him in the MS. diary of Pieter van den Broeke (BPL 953 in the library of the University of Leiden), and the following facts taken from this source may be of interest to students of the period.

It must be premised that van den Broeke was a very unsatisfactory diarist, apt to record trivialities at length, and to ignore important occurrences in which he played a conspicuous part. No inference whatever can be drawn from his silence: we have merely to be thankful for what he gives, and regret that he did not give us more. Among many other omissions, it may be noted that he did not write a

word regarding the genesis of the Fragment of Indian History, which he gave to John de Laet, and which the latter printed in his *De Imperio Magni Mogolis* (Leiden, 1631); the question whether that Fragment is Pelsaert's work thus remains undecided.

Pelsaert was one of a party sent, under the lead of Wouter Heuten, from Batavia to India on the *Nieuwe Zeeland*, which reached Masulipatan in the autumn of 1620. The party travelled overland to Surat, where they arrived on 6 Dec. that year; Pelsaert's rank was then *onderkoopman*, that is, junior factor. On 20 Jan. 1621, he started with a caravan for Agra, as assistant to Heuten, who had been chosen by van den Broeke to take charge of the Agra factory.

On 28 Sept., 1623, Pelsaert, now ranking as factor, arrived in Surat with a caravan of merchandise from Agra. He worked for the next six months in the Surat factory, and on 22 March, 1624, he was sent

to take charge of Agra, as senior factor, in consequence of Heuten's death.

He appears to have come down again with a caravan in the spring of 1626. On 25 Feb. in that year a caravan reached Surat under Hendrick Vapour; on 23 March a second caravan followed, the factor in charge of which is not named; and on 19 April a return-caravan started for Agra under Pelsaert and Vapour, so presumably it was Pelsaert who brought the second caravan.

He left Agra finally in the spring of 1627, after making over charge of the factory to Vapour. A portion of his caravan reached Surat on 12 May, and a week later he arrived in person, exceedingly ill. He must have spent the rest of the year in Gujarât, and on 23 Dec. he sailed for Holland as senior factor on the *Dordrecht*.

It will be seen from these data that Pelsaert had travelled six times between Surat and Agra, and that he had spent a year in all in Gujarât; his experience was thus much wider than might be inferred by readers of his *Remonstrantie*.

This opportunity may be taken to place on record some corrections and additions to the information given in *Jahangir's India*, most of them contributed or suggested by Dr. L. D. Barnett, Sir Richard Burn, Professor S. H. Hodivala, and Sir Walter Hose.

INTRODUCTION. P. ix, l. 10. For 'end of 1627' read 'spring of 1627'.

P. x, l. 23. Van den Broeke's diary shows that he landed at Surat on 4th October, 1620.

P. xi. The facts given on this page can be supplemented from the foregoing note.

TEXT. P. 3, note 2, and p. 57, n. 1. For Amil read Hâkim.

P. 7, n. 2. In the MS. the words 'zelal' and 'tsey' are separated by a comma, but Professor Hodivala suggests that this may be a mistake, and that they form one name, *jaldalsai*, of the same type as 'dy-sucksoy' or 'kissoresoy', given but not explained in *Hobson-Jobson* (s.v. Piece-goods); he explains these forms as proper names followed by the Persian affix *-âsâ*, 'like', so that we should have 'Jalâl-like', 'Dilsukh-like', 'Kishore-like'.

Chaukhamba is the name of a *mahalla* in Benares, and this may be the origin of 'tsoekhamber'; the Professor would prefer to take the word as a perversion of *chârkhânas*, or 'checks', but the Dutch script of the time could scarcely be misread in this way.

P. 19, n. 1. Tzierila must represent Hind. *chharilâ*, which in Blochmann's *Âin* (i. 74) is given as a synonym for Persian *ushna*, a sweet-scented moss, used as an ingredient of the incense called *rûhaf-dâ*. Pipel is for *pippali*, long pepper.

P. 27, n. 2. For cassa in this passage, read *caffa*, a word used in contemporary Dutch for a kind of velvet.

P. 30, n. 2. Professor Hodivala suggests that the reference is to Mungipattan on the Godâvari, a place well known in history, and for a long time famous for its fine cotton fabrics.

P. 33, ll. 3, 4. Cashaer is probably for Kishtwâr, the district lying S. and SE. of the Kashmir valley. Lamoe must be corrupt. It would be easy to read Jamoe, i.e., Jammu, the district S. of Kishtwâr, but Jammu did not extend to the border of Kâbul, which at this time was formed by the Indus. Alternatively, the name may be a perversion of Lahor; the Mogul province of that name, which included Jammu, lay S. of Kashmir, and extended to the border of the province of Kâbul.

ll. 6, 7. Poncie is Pûnch. Bangissa must be Bangash, now in Kohat and Kurram, classed in Jarrett's *Âin* (ii. 407) as a *tûmân*, or subdivision, of Kâbul. The correct name of its ruler at this time has not been found.

l. 9. No such names have been found to the N. of Kashmir. The first two strongly suggest the villages of Pâmpûr and Bijbrâr, but these lay SE of Srinagar, for Jahângir (*Memoirs*, ii. 170, 171) halted at them on his way to the source of the Jhelum. Conceivably Pelsaert put them in the N. because he knew that the general course of the river is from NE. to SW., and did not remember when writing that in Kashmîr it flows from SE. to NW.

l. 23. The larger river is the Jhelum, or Bihat. Virnâg is at, or near, its source: Achiauvel must be for Achibal, or Achval, described by Jahângir (*Memoirs*, ii. 173): Matiaro may be for Watnâr, a short distance NE. of Virnâg. Saluwara is probably Jahângir's Shâlamâr (ii. 151); the stream from it flows into the Dal Lake, whence a channel runs through the city.

l. 29. Swindessaway is much altered in the MS., and it is impossible to say with certainty what the copyist finally intended; possibly it represents the spring above the Dal Lake which is properly named Chashma Shâhî, and is a popular source of drinking-water (*Impl. Gaz.* xv. 77).

P. 34, l. 8. The stronghold is presumably the hill known as Hari Parbat, which was fortified by Akbar (*Impl. Gaz.* xxiii. 99).

P. 35, last line. Casstuwary must represent Kishtwâr, though the distance is much under-stated. Jahângir wrote (*Memoirs*, ii. 138) that the saffron of Kishtwâr was better than that of Kashmir (in the narrow sense).

P. 41, n. 2. For 'between Surat and the sea', read 'two miles above Surat'.

P. 42, l. 13. The correct name of the Governor was Jam Quli Beg (*The English Factories in India*, 1622-3, p. 211).

P. 42, n. 1. The statement that Pelsaert had not been in Gujarât for some years is incorrect, as shown above.

P. 45, l. 6. Meynsel is Hind. *mainsil*, red sulphide of arsenic.

P. 45, n. 1. Several suggestions have been made that the name given to spikenard is a corruption of *ketaki*, the Sanskrit name of the screw-pine, now usually called *keorā*, but no explanation has been offered why the name of an Indian shrub yielding only a perfume should have been applied to a mountain herb yielding a valuable drug. It seems more reasonable to look for the origin of the text name in the Himalayas; the recorded local names of spikenard are quite different, and I suspect the truth to be that a mistake was made, either by Pelsaert or by the druggists in Agra from whom he obtained his samples, and that the word in the text represents *kutki*, or *kūtkī*, a local name for the Himalayan gentian, which grows in the same region as spikenard, and yields a valuable drug (Atkinson's *Gazetteer of the Himalayan Districts of the North-West Provinces*, i. 737, 743). Apparently this name is not altogether precise, for in Platts' Urdu Dictionary it is applied to both hellebore and aconite, and its application to spikenard is a quite conceivable accident.

P. 54, n. 2. Urdu dictionaries give a warning interjection *po-īś* (the 'pyse' of *Hobson-Jobson*), which is presumably the same as 'phoos'. The derivation from Sanskrit *paśya* given in the dictionaries is not, however, acceptable to modern scholars, because there is no warrant for the change of a

into o, and the Pashtu origin given in this footnote appears to be more probable.

P. 59, n. 1. This is probably for Rājpipla, a State lying NE. of Surat, mentioned in Jarrett's *Āin*, ii. 251.

P. 61, n. 3. Tziurewardar must represent Hind. *chauñribardār*, 'carrier of the fly-switch'. The variant selwidar would be Persian *jilaudār*, 'groom'.

P. 63, n. 1. Pelsaert knew Persian well, and the phrase 'in their rich poverty' may possibly be an echo of Persian *fur-ghani*, which is used of a *darwesh* in the *Tāzūk-i-Jahāngiri* (p. 286 of Syud Ahmud's Aligarh text), and was rendered by Rogers 'rich in his poverty'.

P. 63, n. 3. Mosseroufs probably represents *mushrif*, the designation of an official concerned with accounts.

P. 65, n. 1. The word printed as mosseri is altered in the text, and can be read as mofferi, i.e., Persian *mufarrih*, an exhilarating drink. Dutch writers sometimes used *-j* for final *-i*, so falonj may represent Persian *filūntiyā*, probably a preparation of opium (see *The Memoirs of Jahangir*, i. 308 n).

P. 71, n. 1. For Mr. Beni Madho, read Mr. Beni Prasad.

P. 83, n. 1. The initial *h*. of hentsenis is clear in the MS., but it may well be the copyist's mistake for *k*, giving *kanchanī*, a well-known class of public women.

W. H. MORELAND.

BOOK-NOTICE.

SOMANĀTHA AND OTHER MEDIEVAL TEMPLES IN KĀTHIĀWĀD.—A.S.I. Imperial Series, vol. XLV. By H. COUSENS, M.R.A.S. 13×10 in.; pp. v +92; with map, 106 plates and 8 illustrations in text. Calcutta Govt. Press, 1931.

Mr. Cousens has dealt with some twenty-five sites in the Kāthiāwād peninsula, but save in respect of the remains at Somanātha-Paṭṭan and at and near Thān, and the Jaina temples on the Śatrunjaya hill, the accounts are short, and cannot be said to furnish much fresh information of particular interest. The introduction and descriptive text runs to 87 pages, the great bulk of the volume consisting of plates, of which there are no less than 106. Many of the plates are indistinctly reproduced, and five of them seem to have been prepared from the negatives used for

the photographic plates in Burgess's *Report on the Antiquities of Kāthiāwād and Kachh* (1876), with which they compare unfavourably. Still it is convenient to have illustrations of these monuments collected together under one cover like this. The plans and drawings of architectural features, on the other hand, have been admirably delineated and produced. A few of the sites described are not marked on the map, which shows neither hills nor rivers. Inefficient proof-reading is perhaps responsible for many defects in the transliteration of Sanskrit and Arabic words. Surprise will be felt at the statement (on p. 18) that "the *Mahābhārata* makes no mention of Somanātha or of any other shrine in this neighbourhood."

C. E. A. W. O.

¹ In Hindi the forms *posh* and *pos* are also used (suggesting Persian *posh*).—C. E. A. W. O., Jt.-Editor.

THE EXTENT AND CAPITAL OF DAKṢIṆA KOSALA.

BY RAI BAHADUR HIRALAL, M.A.

ABOUT half a century ago General Cunningham endeavoured to fix the boundaries of Dakṣiṇa Kosala, to which he gave the alternative name of Mahā-Kosala,¹ without stating where he found that name. He described its extent as comprising "the whole of the upper valley of the Mahānadi and its tributaries from the source of the Narbadā at Amarkantak, in the north, to the source of the Mahānadi itself near Kānker, on the south, and from the valley of the Wen-Gangā, on the west to the Hasdo and Jonk rivers on the east." But these limits, he added, "have often been extended, so as to embrace the hilly districts of Mandla and Bālāghāt, on the west up to the banks of the Wen-Gangā and the middle valley of the Mahānadi on the east, down to Sambalpur and Sonpur." "Within its narrowest limits the province was 200 miles in length from north to south and 125 miles in breadth, east to west. At its greatest extent, excluding the tributary territories of Orissa, it formed a square of about 200 miles on each side. At the time of Hwen Thsang's visit in 639 A.D., he describes the kingdom as 6,000 *li*, or 1,000 miles in circuit, an extent which could have been attained by inclusion of the district of Vākātaka, on the west comprising the present districts of Chāndā, Nāgpur and Seoni. With this addition the kingdom of Mahā Kosala would have been just 300 miles from west to east."²

Since the above was written, full fifty years have passed away, during which several inscriptions have been found in and out of the so-called Mahā Kosala country, and a number of books on ancient historical places have also been written, but none of them seem to fix the boundaries of that country more definitely than what the father of Indian Archæology did. The latest book by a great antiquarian, which takes cognizance of this matter is Mr. R. D. Banerji's *History of Orissa*, published in 1930, which states that "in mediæval ages the country to the west of Khiṇjali was called Mahā Kosala or Dakṣiṇa Kosala and was subject to the Somavamśis and the Haihayas of Tripuri and Ratnapura."³ This description does not give any definite idea as to how far it extended in any of the four directions, not even on the east, where it is stated to have abutted on Khiṇjali, in view of the fact that Mr. Banerji had a very confused idea of the limits of Khiṇjali, as has been pointed out in *JBORS.*, XVI (1930), pp. 113 ff. He does not state the limits in the other three directions, which he has left to be inferred from the vague statement about a region subject to the Somavamśis and the Haihayas. The Haihaya kingdom extended far and wide. To the north or north-west lay their original capital at Tripuri in the heart of the Dāhala country which extended to the banks of the Ganges.⁴ If that is to be taken as the northern limit, it would go far beyond the Vindhya in the region of Uttarapatha, while Dakṣiṇa Kosala was admittedly one of the earliest Aryan colonies in the Dakṣiṇāpatha or country south of the Vindhya. After all, Mr. Banerji was concerned with Orissa, and perhaps it was sufficient for his purposes to point out that the western boundary of the country he was dealing with, marched with Dakṣiṇa Kosala.

¹ The old Sanskrit literature does not seem to mention it. There are numerous references to that country, which is either designated Kosala or Dakṣiṇa Kosala, in order to distinguish it from Oudh, whose old name was Kosala or Uttara Kosala. We find a king bearing the name of Mahākosala in the line of kings of the latter country, but he does not seem to have given his name to any country. In a country watered by the Mahānadi containing villages with names such as Mahā Samunda (*samudra*), and bounded by or having in close proximity countries, forests or hills named Mahā Kāntāra, Mahārāṣṭra, Mahābhoja, Mahāvināyaka (a hill peak in Jaipur Zamindārī) Mahendra (mountain), etc., it perhaps seemed appropriate to call Dakṣiṇa Kosala Mahā Kosala, especially when its area exceeded that of the northern Kosala, although Yuan Chwang assigns an equal extent to both.

² Cunningham's *Archæological Reports*, vol. XVII (1881-82), pages 68-69.

³ R. D. Banerji, *History of Orissa*, vol. I, p. 7.

⁴ *JAHRS.*, vol. IV. p. 152.

Inscriptions found in the old Chattisgarh Division, which included the districts of Raipur, Bilâspur and Sambalpur, the last of which is at present relegated to Bihâr and Orissa,⁵ mention several gift villages as situated in the Kosala *deśa*. The kings are spoken of as Kosalâdhiśa, Kosalâdhipati, Kosalanarendra, etc. This indisputably proves the identity of Kosala with the three districts named above. The area covered by these districts, including that of the Feudatory States attached to the Chattisgarh Division for administrative purposes and excluding the Bastar State, which epigraphical data show did not form part of the Kosala country, works out to about 45 thousand square miles only. This falls much short of the extent of Kosala as recorded by the Chinese pilgrim. The boundaries being thus shut out on the south by the Bastar State and on the north by the Vindhya mountains, the conclusion is unavoidable that the country extended to the west up to the borders of Berâr, thus absorbing in it the districts of Bhaṇḍârâ, Bâlâghât, Chindwârâ-cum-Seoni, Nâgpur, Wardhâ and Chândâ, comprising an area of 30,000 square miles. Cunningham, in order to complete the area on the Chinese pilgrim's scale, included a part of the Vâkâṭaka country, which he placed in Berâr, but it is not necessary to do this, inasmuch as the deficiency can be covered by some States of Orissa bordering on Sambalpur, in which Somavaṃśi inscriptional records have been found, which prove that they formed part of Kosala *deśa* as mentioned in them. I have summarised these in the appendix to my article on the Sirpur stone inscription (*E.I.*, vol. XI, pp. 198 ff.) These are the states of Paṭnâ, Sonpur, Bâmrâ and Rairâkhol, the combined area of which aggregates 6,000 square miles. With this addition the total area would be some 81,000 square miles, which would give a circuit of 6,000 *li*, or 1,000 miles.⁶ It would then appear that Dakṣiṇa Kosala at the time of Yuan Chwang's visit comprised an area lying between 85° and 78° E. Roughly speaking, this coincides with Cunningham's identification with a slight modification. If we cut out the portion of Berâr included by him in the west, and extend the eastern boundary by including a few Feudatory States, we get exactly what we require.

To the north the boundaries ran a little below Amarakaṇṭaka, which the Mekalas occupied, as we find them mentioned separately both in the *Purâṇas* and in epigraphical records. The *Matsya* and *Vâyu Purâṇas*, when enumerating the dwellers in the Vindhya region (विन्ध्य पृष्ठ निवासिनः), say :—

मालवाश्च करुणाश्च मेकलाश्चोत्कलैः सह ।

तोशलाः कोशलाश्चैव त्रैपुरा वैदिशास्तथा ॥

In the Bâlâghât plates of the Vâkâṭaka king Prithviṣeṇa II belonging to the last quarter of the fifth century A.D., it is stated that his father Narendrasena's commands were honoured by the lords of Kosala, Mekala and Mâlava.⁷ Amarakaṇṭaka, the source of the Narmadâ river, is the highest peak of the Mekala range of the Vindhya mountains. Indeed an alternative name of the Narmadâ is Mekala-sutâ or Mekala-kanyâ, 'daughter of Mekala.' The range runs for about 130 miles in a south-westerly direction to Khairâgarh, indicating the tract which the Mekalas occupied, to wit, portions of Rewa State, Bilâspur, Maṇḍalâ and Bâlâghât districts and that portion of the Raipur district which is covered by the Feudatory States of Kawardhâ, Chuikhadân and Khairâgarh. In the *Vâyu Purâṇa*, however, there is a mention of Pañcha Kosalas, of which the Mekalas were one.⁸ Thus it would appear that there were semi-independent border chiefs subordinate to Kosala proper, the central portion of which comprised the present Raipur and Bilâspur districts.

⁵ The formation of a separate Orissa province has been recently sanctioned, and the Sambalpur district will be included in the new Province ere long.

⁶ A circuit of 1,000 miles in a perfect circle would give 79,545 square miles. Obviously Kosala was not a perfect circle, nor were the boundaries limited to the extents of the present units. They would require lopping off in certain directions and a bit of expansion in others.

⁷ *E. I.*, vol. IX, p. 269.

⁸ Pargitor, *The Purâṇa Text of the Dynasties of the Kali Age*, p. 3.

We shall now proceed to locate the capital of the Kosala country. In the earliest times, when Nala, king of the Niṣadha country, was ousted from his kingdom, he started towards the south, and leaving his wife Damayantī in the forest to take care of herself, he moved on and arrived in the territory of the Karkoṭaka Nāga, who was evidently the ruler of the Nāg-pur country. He afterwards reached the capital of Kosala, and took service as a charioteer of Rituparṇa, the then king of that country. The only ancient town which could have lain on the line of Nala's march having traditions of visits from the heroes of *Mahābhārata* times is Bhāṇḍak (old Bhadrāvati), 16 miles north of Chāṇḍā town, the present head-quarters of the district of the same name. That this alone could be the residence of Rituparṇa is proved by the fact that Nala once drove the latter to his friend the king of Vidarbha, whose capital was at Kauṇḍinyāpura, in approximately 11 hours,⁹ in a chariot with only four horses. Now the distance between Bhāṇḍak and Kauṇḍinyapura is about 80 miles as the crow flies. Allowing 20 miles for the inevitably circuitous route taken by a horse-drawn vehicle, the speed of nine miles an hour is a plausible and even creditable performance for the horses under a good driver. The other known capitals of Dakṣiṇa Kosala are Sirpur (old Śrīpura) in the Raipur district and Tummāṇa and Ratanpur in the Bilāspur district. The first of these is the nearest to Kauṇḍinyapura, but it lies as many as 250 miles away in a straight line on the map. This would give a run of 23 miles an hour for the chariot, and if the windings of the road are taken into account in the same proportion as in the case of Bhāṇḍak, the pace would amount to 29 miles an hour for a continuous run of 11 hours without any change, which is impossible. In fact this rate would exceed the motor car speed attainable in these days, if not beat a railway train. But what we are concerned with is whether Bhāṇḍak continued to be the capital until the advent of Yuan Chwang in 639 A.D. Cunningham, without having the foregoing data before him, tried to locate the capital from the bearings and distances noted by the Chinese pilgrim. The latter came to Kosala from the capital of Kāliṅga pursuing a north-westerly course of about 1,800 *li*, or 300 miles. For reasons best known to himself, Cunningham fixed the capital of Kāliṅga at Rājamahendri, from where he drew a straight line exactly to the north-west and found Chāṇḍā, an important town with a fort and a circumvallation wall at a distance of 290 miles. Chāṇḍā was once a Goṇḍ capital, but long after Yuan Chwang's visit. It had, however, gathered some indefinite traditions which fitted his object, and he decided that it was the place visited by the Chinese pilgrim. Later on, Fergusson¹⁰ proposed Wairāgarh in the same district as the more likely place, but what is missing in both these places is any trace of remains of the Buddhistic monasteries and temples which Yuan Chwang so prominently mentioned. The latter states clearly that "there were 100 *saṅghārāmas* there and 10,000 priests. There was a great number of heretics, who intermixed with the population and also Deva temples." At Bhāṇḍak one may see even today a rock-cut Buddhist cave in a fair state of preservation. There are also numerous remains of Hindu Deva temples as well as Jain temples. An inscription found in the Bhāṇḍak cave shows that a line of Buddhistic kings belonging to the Paṇḍuvamśī line ruled in that place down to the ninth century A.D. (*JRAS.*, 1905, p. 621). This discovery is of great importance inasmuch as Yuan Chwang mentions specifically that the king was of the Kṣatriya caste and deeply revered the law of the Buddha. Traditionally Bhāṇḍak was a very big city which once extended up to Bhaṭāla,¹¹ some 20 miles distant. The ruins lying between these places seem to indicate some connection between them.

In these circumstances when I happened to refer to Nāgārjuna, to whom a cave is dedicated on a hillock at Rāmṭek, I proposed Bhāṇḍak as a still more likely place for Yuan

⁹ Pradhan's *Chronology of Ancient India*, p. 147.

¹⁰ *JRAS.*, 1875, p. 260.

¹¹ Nelson's *Chanda District Gazetteer*, p. 571.

Chwang's visit than Chândâ or Wairâgarh, giving in a footnote my reasons for that suggestion. The matter rested there, until 1928, when that footnote attracted the attention of my esteemed friend, Mr. C. E. A. W. Oldham, C.S.I., who asked me whether, with my fuller local knowledge of the country after the lapse of a score of years, I still stuck to that opinion, pointing out at the same time certain difficulties which the description given by the Chinese pilgrim raised. I admit that I have found it very difficult to reconcile these, but I have endeavoured to reconsider the question and put on record what my acquaintance with the country suggested—a country which I have travelled through from the source of the Narmadâ down to the Godâvarî and from the Bâmrâ state of Orissa to Berâr.

In the first place, General Cunningham fixed Râjamahendri as the capital of Kalinga, but later investigations show that it was at Mukhalingam on the left bank of the Vamsadhâra, 18 miles from Parlakimidi in the Ganjam District.¹² In that case three other reputed capitals of South Kosala would at any rate require consideration before they can be summarily rejected, as Mukhalingam would place them within the distances and bearings recorded by the Chinese traveller. These are Sirpur (old Śrîpura) in the Raipur district and Tummâna and Ratanpur in the Bilâspur District. All these lie to the north-west of Mukhalingam, but from Râjamahendri they would lie slightly east of north.

The distances are as follows :—

	From Mukhalingam.	From Râjamahendri.
Sirpur ..	221 miles.	370 miles.
Ratanpur ..	284 „	434 „
Tummâna ..	300 „	450 „

It may be noted at once that Tummâna and Ratanpur did not become capitals until the ninth century A.D. or still later. The first was founded by a descendant of Kalingarâja, a younger son of a descendant of Kokalla I of Tripuri, who flourished about 875 A.D.; and the second came into existence when Ratnadeva, a later descendant of Kalingarâja, transferred his residence to Ratanpur, which he named after himself. So, what remains to be considered is the claim of Sirpur as the seat of the Somavamsî kings and their predecessors. In the beginning of the seventh century A.D., a line of Rishitulyakula kings ruled there. The Ârang plates¹³ of Bhîmasena II give his genealogy for six generations. These were issued in Gupta Samvat 282, or 601 A.D. This at any rate establishes the fact that Sirpur enjoyed the honour of being a capital in the fifth century A.D., when the 5th ascendant of Bhîmasena II must have been on the throne. It was just 38 years after the Ârang record that the Chinese pilgrim visited the capital of South Kosala. In view of the fact that Sirpur even now possesses two images of the Buddha inscribed with the creed of his religion and numerous remains of Vaiṣṇava and Śaiva temples, it presents itself as a strong rival to Bhândak, whose Buddhistic cave, carved out of the rock in the Wijâsan hillock, had ranged me in its favour, taking into consideration also the fact that an inscription was found in that cave mentioning a line of Kṣatriya kings, though belonging to a later date. The Rishitulyakula of Sirpur was *deva guru-brâhmaṇa bhakta*, and as such out and out Hindu. It does not appear probable that it had changed its religion within the short interval of 38 years, unless it was superseded by another dynasty, which apparently, could not be other than the Somavamsî one of the Pându lineage, which played a conspicuous part in the history of Dakṣiṇa Kosala before the advent of the Haihayas. Several inscriptions of kings of that dynasty have been found,

¹² *Madras Provincial Gazetteer*, vol. I, p. 228. For a collection of various views on the subject see an article on Kalinga in the *Journal of the Andhra Historical Research Society*, vol. II, pp. 196 ff. Râjamahendri is said to have been founded by Râjarâja Narendra (1022-1063 A.D. of the Eastern Châlukya dynasty and called after his surname, Râjamahendra (*op. cit.*, vol. III, p. 144.)

¹³ *E.I.*, vol. IX, pp. 342 ff.

the oldest being that of Tivaradeva, who has been connected with Udayana,¹⁴ a common ancestor of the Somavamsis of Sirpur and the Buddhist kings of Bhândak. The time of the rise of the Somavamsis of Sirpur falls about Yuan Chwang's visit, so it is within the bounds of possibility that an ancestor of Tivaradeva, who is described as *prâpta sakala-Kosalâdhipatyaḥ* (i.e., who had acquired the supremacy over all the Kosalas, or the whole of the Kosala country) may have held sway at Sirpur, and that he might have been a Buddhist, or at any rate well affected towards Buddhism. Tivaradeva himself was 'a most devout worshipper of Viṣṇu'¹⁵ and was 'unweariedly worshipped by mankind in respect of his religious austerity.'

So far, then, the claims of Sirpur and Bhândak stand on almost an equal footing. We have now to consider other points mentioned by the pilgrim, and see how they fit in. If the capital of Kalinga, whence Yuan Chwang travelled to the capital of the Kosala country, was at Râjamahendri, Sirpur is out of the question in view of the fact that its distance even as the crow flies is 370 miles, which is much in excess of what the pilgrim has recorded.¹⁶ The bearings would also vary, as Sirpur is slightly east of north, and not north-west, from Râjamahendri. But if we take Mukhalingam close to Kalinganagaram or Kalingapattanam as the capital of Kalinga, as proposed by Fergusson and accepted by Vincent Smith and others, the difficulty which arises is how the pilgrim made it out to be 1,400 or 1,500 *li* from *Kung-yü-t'o* to Kalinga. *Kung-yü-t'o* has been identified with the Kōgoda of the inscriptions, situated somewhere between Kaṭak in Orissa and Askâ in the Ganjam district, close to the Chilka lake. The distance, however, from there to Mukhalingam would be less than 125 miles in a straight line, and even if the windings of the road are taken into account, as they should be, still the distance could not amount to 1,400 or 1,500 *li*. It was perhaps this consideration which induced Cunningham to identify the capital with Râjamahendri. If, however, Mukhalingam was really the capital of Kalinga, the claims of Chândâ or Bhândak vanish, as their distance in a straight line would exceed 330 miles.

And now we have to take the data of the return journey into consideration. The pilgrim states that from Kosala he travelled south (*Travels*) or south-east (*Life*) through a forest for above 900 *li* to the *An-to-lo* country. This country was above 300 *li* in circuit and its capital, *P'ing-k'i* (or *ch'i-lo*), was above 20 *li* in circuit. The country had a rich fertile soil, with a moist hot climate; the people there were of violent character, their mode of speech differed from that of Mid-India, but they followed the same system of writing. There were twenty odd Buddhist monasteries with more than 3,000 brethren. Near the capital was a large monastery with a succession of high halls and storeyed terraces containing an exquisite image of the Buddha. From *An-to-lo*, or Andhra, the pilgrim continued his journey south through wood and jungle for over 1,000 *li* to *T'e-na-ka-che-ka*, which is identified with Dhanakaṭaka, the present Bezwâda. The distance between Sirpur and Bezwâda in a straight line is 350 miles, and that between Bhândak and Bezwâda 270 miles. The traveller has recorded it as 1,900 *li*, or 316 miles. This again would appear to put Sirpur out of the question. In these circumstances it seems immaterial to locate the capital¹⁷ of Andhra, which lay somewhere midway between the capital of Kosala and Bezwâda. The pilgrim's remarks in regard

¹⁴ *E.I.*, vol. XI, pp. 184 ff.

¹⁵ Fleet's *Gupta Inscriptions*, p. 298.

¹⁶ Watters, *Yuan Chwang*, pp. 198 and 341.

¹⁷ The distances and bearings would point to Warangal (ancient Orukkallu, with the tradition of having been once the capital of Andhra), but how this name could be represented by *P'ing-ch'i-lo* in the Chinese language cannot be easily explained, unless Warangal had a different name in the seventh century. *P'ing-ch'i* cannot be Vengi, howsoever much it may resemble it phonetically, as it would be too far away from any Kosala capital, and too near Bezwâda.

to the nature of the country he traversed, its people and language apply equally to both the claimants. Proceeding from Sirpur towards Bezvâda, we cannot avoid passing either through Bastar, or through the Agency tracts of the Madras Presidency, apparently called Mahâ-kântâra (the great forest) at the time of Samudragupta's conquest : and they remain primeval jungle upto the present day. The chief inhabitants are Gonds and Khonds (Kûis), still continuing in the wildest state. They have several times shown violence against authority by open rebellion and murder, or by merciless maiming of the limbs of their enemies, even during the British régime. When the Kûis once cut off the heads of Koltas, an Oriya cultivating caste who usurped their lands, they, on being asked why they did it, replied : " Koltas are goats, we are tigers, why should we not kill them ? " The spoken dialects of these tribes are Dravidian, quite distinct from the languages of Mid-India ; and in the southern area towards the Godâvari, they are replaced by Telugu. The Nâgavamîsi kings who ruled this country about the tenth century invariably recorded their grants and orders on stone or metal in Telugu characters to the south of the Indravatî river, while all records referring to the same kings found to the north of that river are written in Nâgarî characters. In the case of Bhândak, it may be noted that the whole of the *tahsîl* lying in the southernmost part of the Chândâ district, viz., Sironchâ, is Telugu-speaking. In fact it is the only *tahsîl* in the Central Provinces in which the recognised court language was till lately Telugu. The *tahsîl* abuts on the southern portion of the Bastar State and presents the same type of culture, the characteristics of which have been described above. The southern portion of the Chândâ district is full of dense forest. The writer of the Chândâ *District Gazetteer* says—" At times it must be admitted that the interminable stretches of the gloomy forest oppress the imagination and the traveller is glad to emerge for a space into the more open haunts of men and welcomes the uninterrupted view even of an Indian sun."¹⁸ It would thus appear that the country bordering on the Godâvari river was an out-crop of Telangana, or Telugu country, lying on the south of the Godâvari, and was " Andhra land with Andhra culture, tradition and language," as Paṇḍit Nilakanṭha Das, M.A., puts it (see *JAHRS.*, vol. II, p. 25) ; and a traveller returning from Bhândak or Sirpur was bound to cross it on his way to Dhanakataka (Bezvâda).

As to the pilgrim's description that Kosala was surrounded by mountains and was a succession of woods and marshes, I think it is literally true. The country was bounded on the north by the Vindhya mountains and on the south by those just described, and the other two sides were similarly wooded as they are today. In fact this country was called Daṇḍa-kâranya in Râma's time, and Mr. G. Râmdâs tells us that Daṇḍaka is a Dravidian term meaning ' full of water.' Wells were unknown in this country till recently. The country was full of tanks and lakes throughout its length and breadth, and there are still some places in the Drug district, formerly a part of Raipur, where marshes still survive.

From what I have said above, it will have to be admitted that there is some mistake in recording the distances or interpreting their exact value,¹⁹ whether one fixes the capital at Sirpur or Bhândak. To my mind, both the places seem at present to have equal claims to the honour of a visit from that great pilgrim of China, but Bhândak seems to possess more tangible evidence than Sirpur.

¹⁸ Nelson's *Chanda District Gazetteer*, p. 8.

¹⁹ We have as a rule accepted 6 *li* to a mile. In a footnote on page 332, vol. II, of Watters's *Yuan Chwang*, M. Foucher's opinion is quoted that the expression ' about 50 *li*, ' as used by Yuan Chwang, is ordinarily an approximate equivalent for a day's march, which was variable in length, but averaged about 4 French leagues, or nearly 10 English miles ; but Giles in the *Oxford Dictionary* lays down 10 miles as equivalent to 27½ *li*.

PROCLAMATION OF AŚOKA AS A BUDDHIST, AND HIS JAMBUDVĪPA.

By K. P. JAYASWAL, M.A. (OXON.), B.A.B.-AT-LAW.

(a) Explanation of the phrase 'gods made mingled with men.'

THE Rūpnāth Series Proclamation (Hultzsche, pp. 166, 228), miscalled 'Minor Inscriptions,' is the most important proclamation of the emperor. In this he issues his proclamation as an 'open Buddhist' (*prakāśa Śake*; Maski—'Budha Śake'). He has no more hesitation in openly owning his religion which formerly the traditional constitutional position of the Hindu monarch prevented him from owning.¹ He had preached the positivism of the Buddha's system, calling it his own, but now his conscience was moved to make a public declaration; and this declaration he couples with the **result of his positive propaganda**, summed up in one sentence:

"Those gods who during that time [i.e., his pre-conversion time] had been unmingled (with men) in Jambudvīpa have now been made (by me) mingled (with them)." (Hultzsche, p. 168.)

Hultzsche calls this enigmatical, and seeks to explain it by reference to Rock Proclamation IV, where the king mentions his shows of divine scenes (*divyāni rūpāni*—Girnār). Prof. F. W. Thomas (*C.H.I.*, i. 505) takes it to signify that the king "brought the Brāhman gods to the knowledge of those people in India, i.e., the wild tribes, who had formerly known nothing of them."

The meaning is, as we shall presently see, something different. The sentence is a masterpiece of epigrammatic statement, disclosing the great literary power of the emperor and at the same time intimate acquaintance with the traditional lore of the orthodox Hindu system. Aśoka turned back, surveying in the *simhāvaloka* fashion, and saying to his orthodox countrymen, 'I, your king, have brought about the **tretā-yuga** in Jambudvīpa.' His sentence puts in a summary form the Purāṇic description of the *Golden Age* of morality:

Cf.

*Saptarshayo Manus chaiva ādau manvantarasya ha,
prārambhante cha karmmāṇi manushyā daivataiḥ saha*
—*Vāyu*, i. 61. 164.

Men acting with the Devas (*manushyā daivataiḥ saha*) initiate an order of perfect Dharma:

*Manvantarādau prāgeva
tretāyuga-mukhe tataḥ †
pūrvam devās tatas te vai
sthite dharme tu sarvasaḥ ||* (165).

The same orthodox Hindu tradition is to be found in the *Dharma-sūtra* of Āpastamba (2. 7. 16): *saha deva-manushyā asmil-loke purā babhūvuh*. In other words, Aśoka points out that he has brought about a **new epoch, the ideal epoch**. This was obtained through his approaching the Buddhist Saṅgha and by his own 'prowess' or 'exertion' (*parākrama*).

And this revolution was brought about not only in India but over a larger area, **Jambudvīpa**, which obviously included the countries of some of his non-Indian international neighbours and the countries which had not the privilege of receiving his envoys, where his *dharmānuśasti*, *dharmavutaṁ*, and his *vidhāna* or *dharmavidhāna* were being followed, and which had become subject to that form of his conquest which alone gave the emperor pleasure and satisfaction, i.e., his Conquest of Dharma (Rock P. XIII).² The Jambudvīpa of Aśoka thus meant an area larger than India, and it certainly included his own people on the Oxus.

¹ Jayaswal, *Hindu Polity*, ii. 45. He was bound by his coronation oath to protect the orthodox traditional religion.

² *Tretāyuga* was essentially an imperial period:

त्रतायां क्षत्रिया राजन् सर्वे वै चक्रवर्तिनः । *MBh.*, *Bhīṣma*, X. 11.

The implication is that the privilege which was confined by the orthodox system to the land of India, the privilege of having the moral *yuga*, a privilege which is expressly denied by the orthodox system to the countries outside the limits of Bhāratavarṣa, was made available, and demonstrably so, by the emperor to all, even to the Mlecchas.³

There was justification put forward here along with an open avowal of a non-Vedic or anti-Vedic system of religion, though at his coronation Aśoka must have taken the oath to protect and follow the ancient orthodox religious system.

Aśoka's Originality and Greatness.

Aśoka thus stood before his countrymen as the holy Indian emperor from the Indian Ocean to the Mediterranean—from Ceylon to Greece and Egypt—and as having brought about a new ethical order, and this also amongst those whom the *śāstras* of his country had regarded as spiritually disenfranchised by the very law of primeval creation. The Buddha opened up Buddhism and *sannyāsa* to the whole of the non-Brāhman Hindu community; Aśoka opened his Dharma to the whole of humanity. Without Aśoka, Buddhism would have remained an intra-mural religion confined to India, a Hindu religious system confined to the Hindus, just like Jainism. Probably it did not occur to the Buddha to make Dharma available to the Mlecchas. The conception of a world-religion and enfranchisement of the whole world enabling the whole world—Indian and non-Indian alike—to partake of the truth, the positivism, of Buddhism, a truth which Aśoka valued as the highest truth, was the originality of Aśoka, not of the Buddhist Church as he founded it. He truly became an all-world conqueror, the *Dharma-cakrvarīn* over the known world. He, in the words of his race, caused the initiation of a new *manvantara*, a new *kalpa*, in the world. He expressed the hope that this new order (his Dharma) would last for a long *kalpa*, sincerely bequeathing it to posterity by the testament of his inscriptions.

(b) Jambudvīpa.

The name *Jambudvīpa* is found in Buddhist Pāli *sūtras* as well as in Sanskrit literature. Its earliest definition in Sanskrit is to be found in the *Mahābhārata* and then in the *Matsya Purāṇa* (c. 250 A.D.) They, however, avowedly borrow the geographical matter from the earlier edition of the *Purāṇa* text.⁴ The geographical material of the *Purāṇas* is of a very early date, which we shall presently see, and is probably even more important than the historical.

Jambudvīpa, according to the description therein given, comprised almost the whole of Asia.⁵ It is wrong to translate it by 'India.' I have pointed out above, on the basis of the inscriptions, that Aśoka's *Jambudvīpa* included a much larger area than India, i.e., than India-cum-Afghānistān. Now let us take the data of the *Matsya*.

(a) **India Proper** is called by it *Mānavadvīpa* (Ch. 113. 9-17), which some *Purāṇas* call *Kumārīdvīpa*, named after *Kumārī*, a name which survives in our present day 'Cape Comorin.' It gives the measurement of this *dvīpa* from *Kumārī* to the source of the Ganges.⁶

³ 'There are four *yugas* in Bhāratavarṣa'—*MBh.*, *Bhīṣma*, X. 3; *Viṣṇu P.*, II. 3. 19.

इह स्वर्गापवर्गाथि प्रवृत्तिरिह मानुषे । *Matsya*, 113. 14.

यतो हि कर्ममूर्खा ततोऽन्या भोगभूयः । *Viṣṇu*, II. 3. 23.

⁴ *Bhīṣma*, XII. 41. *Matsya*, 123. 9, and various other passages. Both have cited mostly identical verses.

⁵ In one place the *MBh.* employs the term in lieu of Bhāratavarṣa (*Bhīṣma*, vi. 13), but this was, as the commentator has rightly pointed out, due to the leading position of Bhāratavarṣa in *Jambudvīpa*; throughout its treatment the *MBh.* takes Bhāratavarṣa as one of the *varṣas* of Jambukhaṇḍa or Jambudvīpa, like the *Purāṇas*, citing the very texts mostly. The *MBh.* at places condenses the *Purāṇic* text.

⁶ The real source of the Ganges, according to the *Purāṇas*, lay in a lake in Tibet.

(b) India Proper was a part of **Bhāratavarṣa**, which extended in the north up to the valley of the Oxus (113. 40-43) (120. 43-46). The **Bhāratavarṣa** division goes back to the time of Megasthenes. See, for instance, Frag. IV of Schwanbeck (Strabo, XV. i. ii; McCrindle, p. 48) :

“India is bounded on the north by the extremities of Tauros, and from Ariana to the Eastern Sea by the mountains which are variously called by the natives of these regions *Parapanisos*, and *Hemodos*, and *Himaos*, and other names, but by the Macedonians *Kaukasos*.”

This larger area of India, i.e., **Bhāratavarṣa** goes really beyond the Maurya times. This is to be gathered from Herodotus, who says (iii. 102) :

“There are other Indians bordering on the city of Kaspatyros and the country of Paktyke, settled northward of the other Indians, who resemble the Baktrians in the way they live. They are the most warlike of the Indians and are the men whom they send to procure the gold [paid to the king of Persia], for their country adjoins the desert of sand.”

(c) **Bhāratavarṣa** along with other *varṣas* made up **Jambudvīpa**. They were, according to an earlier Purāṇic division cited by the present Purāṇas, four, and according to another division, seven in number (*Matsya*, 112. 7). *Varṣa* means ‘country’ (112. 26) divided and bounded by mountain ranges. There are several mountain ranges in the continent of Jambudvīpa. One, to the north of India, is called **Niṣadha**. I take it to be the same as the Parapanisad of the Greeks, variously spelt as *Parapamisad* and *Paropaniasad*.⁷ *Parap* probably represents *parva*, which means a section of a range, according to Purāṇic geography.⁸ The **Niṣadha** and **Meru** were in close proximity, as a river (Jambu) is mentioned as situated by the south side of Meru and the north side of the **Niṣadha** (*Meros tu dakṣiṇe pārśve Niṣadhasyottareṇa tu—Vāyu*, 46. 23).

There is no doubt that the Purāṇic Meru is the Meros of Alexander’s historians, and the river is probably the Panjshir.⁹ According to the Purāṇas it was a gold-producing area and its peculiar gold was called Jāmbūnada.

The central part of Jambudvīpa is the country of the Pāmirs, ‘Meru-land.’ Its range is *Mahā-Meru* (the Larger Meru). The region to the south of the Pāmirs is sometimes called *Himavarṣa*,¹⁰ which Yuan Chwang calls *Hima-tala*.¹¹ Probably it is this word that we find in the Greek form *Himaos*. ‘The Snowy Range’ of the Hindus seems to have included the mountains of north-western Afghānistān, and was more extensive than our ‘Himalayas.’ Cf. Yuan Chwang (*Life*, pp. 197-198) :

“From this country, again going east across mountains 700 *li*, we reach the valley of Pāmīr. This valley is about 1000 *li* from east to west, and 100 *li* or so from north to south. It lies between two ranges of the Snowy Mountains.... The soil is always frozen....¹² In the middle of this valley is a great lake, 200 *li* from east to west, and fifty *li* from north to south. It lies in the centre of Jambudvīpa....”

⁷ McCrindle, *Invasion of India*, p. 58, n.

⁸ *a-parvāṇas tu girayah, parvabhiḥ parvatāḥ smṛitāḥ—Vāyu*, 49. 132.

⁹ The local tree of this area, bearing sweet juicy fruit called *jambu* in the *Purāṇas*, is probably the plum tree. According to a passage of the *Viṣṇu*, the geographical trees—e.g., *jambu*, *śāka*—were indicators of particular mountain ranges [on maps] (*Vāyu*, II, 2, 18 : पादपा गिरिकेवतः) For Hindu maps, see *MBh.* Bk. vi (*Bhīṣma*), ch. 6; 2, 39, 56; Megasthenes, p. 52.

¹⁰ Also Haimavata (Gk. ‘*Hemodos*’); sometimes separate from India, but mostly part of it: e.g., इदं तु भारतं वर्षं ततो हैमवतं परम्। *Bhīṣma*, VI. 7; इमं हैमवतं वर्षं भारतं नाम विभ्रुतम्। —*Matsya*, 112. 28.

¹¹ *Life*, p. 196: “Again going from Mung K’ien, entering the mountains and travelling for 300 *li* or so, we come to the country of *Hi-mo-ta-lo*: this also was a part of the old Tukhāra territory.

¹² Cf. *Matsya*. 114. 19.

This, along with the account of the Oxus and Śīta rivers which follows, is almost a verbal corroboration of the Purāṇic description of the Pāmīrs.

The four large divisions of Jambudvīpa are :

- N. Uttara Kuru, situated to the south of the Northern Sea (*Uttara samudra*).
- S. Bhārata.
- E. Bhadrāsva (up to the sea, i.e., China).
- W. Ketumāla (up to the sea, i.e., Asia Minor).

Ketumāla is identified by the later Hindu astronomer Bhāskara Ācārya, who calls its westernmost town Romaka, i.e., Constantinople. The Purāṇic description fully bears out this identification.

According to the second division of Jambudvīpa referred to above, in which seven *varṣas* are enumerated, it becomes clear that the whole of Asia minus Arabia is included in Jambudvīpa. By or below the *Nīṣadha* there was **Hari-varṣa**. This country, *Hari*, is thus identical with the name and country called **Haraiva** or **Hariva** by Darius, i.e., the country from Meshed to Herat, the Ariana of the Greeks. The old name survives in the modern Heri. The next *varṣa* or country in the Purāṇas is a large area called **Ilāvṛita**, which must go back to the Elamite empire. Ilabrat was the chief messenger of the gods, or 'the god of the wings' (cf. *Mythology of All Races*, vol. V, *Semitic*, by S. Langdon, p. 177). To the **Tibetan region** and adjacent parts the Purāṇas give the name **Kinnara-** or **Kimpuruṣa-varṣa**, probably owing to the inhabitants being nearly devoid of moustaches and whiskers. To the north of the Pāmīrs there are two parallel divisions, **Ramanaka** (or **Ramyaka**), i.e., the country of the 'nomads,' and **Hiraṇya**, which evidently stand for Central Asia and Mongolia, as the country to their north, Uttara Kuru was known as reaching the Northern Sea. Uttara Kuru thus represents Siberia.

Thus the four larger divisions are really the four most distant countries—India, Asia Minor, China and Siberia, and the seven consist of

1. India (with its frontiers on the Pāmīrs).
2. The Herat country.
3. Tibet.
4. Ilavṛita, from the Pāmīrs and Herat (probably) to the Persian Gulf.
5. Central Asia.
6. Mongolia.
7. Siberia.

Arabia is counted as a different *dvīpa*. It is bounded on three sides by the sea. A *dvīpa*, according to the Purāṇic description, should have seas on (at least) two sides. Arabia is called **Puṣkara**, which according to the Purāṇas, is the only *dvīpa* which has no river and only one mountain. Its name, *Puṣkara dvīpa*, the 'lake *dvīpa*,' is probably due to its being regarded as having inhabited land on all sides, surrounding an area of sand which represented a dried-up sheet of water.

The Purāṇic division of the then known world is thus ancient. It stands to reason that the ancient Hindus must have known their neighbours. The Purāṇas show a minute knowledge of **Mid-Asia**. Their name, **Nīla**, for a large range of mountains is a translation of the Chinese name, 'Blue Mountains'; and their '**Golden Mountains**' represent the **Altai Mountains**, the Mongolian name for which (*Altain-ula*) means the 'mountains of gold.' The Purāṇas assert that in the Central (Pāmīr) Region there was a very large lake, called by them **Bindusara**, which was the source of the Oxus and several other, named, rivers. Modern

¹³ *C.H.I.*, i, 338.

¹⁴ *Enc. Brit.* (11th ed.), XIII, 332.

research has shown that Lake Victoria is the remnant of a much larger lake that covered the valley in former ages. The Purāṇas say that the Oxus falls into the 'Western Sea,' by which they mean the Caspian. We now know that the Caspian was much larger in past ages, and included the present Sea of Aral. The Purāṇas call the Turkistān desert the 'desert of the sea.' These facts and the very ancient names *Ilāvṛīta* and *Hari-varṣa* prove that the Purāṇic geographical data of Jambudvīpa are much earlier than the time of Aśoka, and that the name which Aśoka used had long been established for the major portion of the known world. As the Purāṇas seem to have different names for Egypt (*Kuśa-dvīpa*) and Europe (*Krauñca-dvīpa*) we have to neglect Bhāskara Ācārya's view (which is much later in date) that Jambudvīpa included the whole of the northern hemisphere [the northern hemisphere according to him being land and the southern hemisphere being sea].

Following the definition of the ancient Purāṇas, it seems that Aśoka's Jambudvīpa was confined to Asia, and his success was more marked there than in Greece and Egypt, for in his summary of result he particularises Jambudvīpa.

MEAN SAMKRĀNTIS.

By A. VENKATASUBBIAH.

IN his paper on 'The Brahma-siddhānta of Brahmagupta, A.D. 628; Mean System, published in vol. XVII of the *Epigraphia Indica*, the late Mr. Robert Sewell observed that, in India, details for the calendar, that is, of *tithis*, *nakṣatras*, *saṃkrāntis*, etc., were certainly calculated till the eleventh century at least everywhere, and for several centuries thereafter in some places, on the mean, instead of the true or apparent, motions of sun and moon. And he therefore published in that journal many tables by means of which one can calculate and determine, according to the Ārya and Brahma Siddhāntas, the moment when mean *saṃkrāntis* occurred, and mean *tithis*, *nakṣatras*, etc., began and ended.

Tables LXXVI and XC in these papers give the exact moment of occurrence of the mean Meṣa-saṃkrānti according to these Siddhāntas, while tables LXXVII and XCI give the periods of time that intervene between this moment and the moments of occurrence of the other mean *saṃkrāntis*. Tables LXI and LXXXII, on the other hand, give the moment of occurrence of the true Meṣa-saṃkrānti according to these Siddhāntas, which moment is quite different from the moment of occurrence of the mean Meṣa-saṃkrānti. Now, the moment of occurrence of the Meṣa-saṃkrānti marks the commencement of the solar year; and it hence becomes evident from the above tables that Mr. Sewell opined that the compilers of the mean-system *pañcāṅgas* according to the Brahma, Ārya and other Siddhāntas put down in their almanacs as the time of commencement of the solar year, the moment of occurrence of the mean, and not of the true, Meṣa-saṃkrānti, and that they made this moment the basis for their calculation of the moments of occurrence of the other mean *saṃkrāntis*.

To take a concrete instance, Mr. Sewell gives in tables XC and LXXVI the moment of occurrence of mean Meṣa-saṃkrānti, according to the Brahma and Ārya Siddhāntas, of Ky. year 4287 current (A.D. 1185) as 15hrs. 54m. 54s. on Monday, 25th March, and 16h. 55m. 0s. on Tuesday, 26th March, respectively, while in tables LXXXII and LXI, he gives the moment of occurrence of true Meṣa-saṃkrānti of the same Ky. year and according to the same Siddhāntas, as 11h. 45m. 41s. on Saturday, 23rd March, and 13h. 22m. 30s. on Sunday, 24th March, respectively. It is therefore apparent that, in Mr. Sewell's opinion, the compilers of the mean-system almanacs by the Brahma and Ārya Siddhāntas for the Ky. year 4287 current had put down in them Monday, 25th March, and Tuesday, 26th March (and not Saturday, 23rd March, and Sunday, 24th March) as the day on which the solar year commenced and that they calculated from these days the days on which the mean Vṛṣabha, Mithuna and other *saṃkrāntis* occurred.

There can be no doubt that Mr. Sewell had good grounds on which he based the above opinion ; and it is hence all the more remarkable that in the few dates that I have met with which seem to cite mean *saṃkrāntis*, these mean *saṃkrāntis* are calculated from the moment of occurrence of *true*, and not mean, *Meṣa-saṃkrānti*. These dates are but five in number and are the following :

1. Date of Arsikere inscription of the time of Viraballāla II (*Ep. Car.*, V. Arsikere 93 ; p. 344) : *Śaka 1111 Kīlaka, Puṣya-amāvāsyā, Bhānuvāra, vyatīpāta-saṃkramaṇa*.

Śaka 1111 current=Kīlaka by the southern luni-solar system. In this year, Puṣya-amāvāsyā (i.e., the *amāvāsyā* at the end of the *amānta* month Puṣya) ended on Tuesday, 20th December, and Monday, 19th December, A.D. 1188, according to the mean and true systems of working. No *saṃkrānti*, mean or true, was associated with either of these two days ; and the date is hence irregular for this year. It is likewise irregular for the northern luni-solar Kīlaka also (concerning the use of northern luni-solar Jovian years in S. India, see my *Some Śaka Dates in Inscriptions*, p. 4 ff.) ; for, in this year, Puṣya-amāvāsyā began, by the mean as well as true system of working, on Monday, 3rd December 1184, and ended on the next day, Tuesday, 4th December, and there was no *saṃkrānti*, mean or true, associated with either of these days. In the year following this northern luni-solar Kīlaka however (regarding such years, see p. 35 ff. in *op. cit.*) or the year but one preceding the southern luni-solar Kīlaka (see regarding such years, p. 45, *op. cit.*), true *Meṣa-saṃkrānti*, according to the Brahma Siddhānta, occurred at 11h. 45m. 41s. on Saturday, 23rd March 1185 A.D., and the mean Makara-saṃkrānti, counting from this moment, occurred 273 days 22h. 39m. 6s. later on **Sunday, 22nd December 1185**, at 10h. 24m. 47s. The mean Puṣya-amāvāsyā too began on this Sunday at 14h. 17m. 0s. The mean *Meṣa-saṃkrānti* occurred on Monday, 25th March, at 15h. 54m. 54s. and the mean Makara-saṃkrānti, counting from this moment, at 14h. 34m. 0s. on Tuesday, 24th December 1185, on which day the mean *tithi* Puṣya-ba 1 ended and ba-2 began. The true Makara-saṃkrānti too occurred on that Tuesday at 3h. 52m. 31s.

It is thus obvious that Sunday, 22nd December 1185 A.D., is the equivalent of the date¹ given in the inscription, and that the compiler of the almanac from which the details of the above date were taken had given in it 11h. 45m. 41s. of Saturday, 23rd March 1185 ; as the beginning of the solar year and calculated from that moment the moment of occurrence of the mean Makara-saṃkrānti.

2. Date of another Arsikere inscription of the time of Viraballāla II (*Ep. Car.*, V. Arsikere 90 ; p. 343) : *Śaka 1111 Kīlaka, Puṣya-amāvāsyā, Somavāra, vyatīpāta-saṃkramaṇa*.

It will be seen that the details of this date are identical with those of no. 1 given above with the exception that the weekday here is Monday, and not Sunday. Since we have also seen above that on Sunday, 22nd December A.D. 1185, the equivalent of date no. 1, Puṣya-amāvāsyā began and ended on the following Monday, it is obvious that this **Monday, 23rd December A.D. 1185**, is the day denoted by the inscription. According to the Ārya Siddhānta, the mean Makara-saṃkrānti occurred after 273 days 22h. 39m. 22s. counting from the moment of occurrence of true *Meṣa-saṃkrānti* (13h. 22m. 30s. on Sunday, 24th March 1185), at 12h. 1m. 52s. on this Monday ; and the mean *tithi* Puṣya-amāvāsyā too ended on this Monday at 14h. 27m. 28s.

In my above-cited book, I have given Monday, 24th January A.D. 1183, as the equivalent of this date (p. 100 ; no. 126) and also of four other dates. Comparison with date no. 1 given above, however, shows clearly that the equivalent of this date is Monday, 23rd December 1185, and not Monday, 24th January 1183. In the same way, the former Monday

¹ The mention of *vyatīpāta* in this date, and in the following dates, is honorific (see in this connection *op. cit.*, p. 19) ; for, the *yoga vyatīpāta* can, in no circumstance, occur in conjunction with the *tithis* cited in these dates.

is the equivalent of date no. 127 also in *op. cit.* (*Śaka* 1107 *Viśvāvasu*, *Puṣya-amāvāsya*, Monday, *vyatīpāta-samkramaṇa*; *Śaka* 1107 expired=*Viśvāvasu*=A.D. 1185), while the latter Monday is the correct equivalent of dates no. 125, 129 and 128 in *op. cit.* The first two of these three dates mention the year Śobhakṛt and Śaka 1106 current and 1105 expired [=A.D. 1183] while the year Plavaṅga mentioned in the third must be understood to refer to the northern luni-solar year of that name, which corresponded to A.D. 1183.

3. Date of Bidare inscription of the time of the Hoysala king Narasiṃha I (*Ep. Car.*, VI. Kaḍūr 72; p. 46): *Śaka* 1084 *Citra-bhānu*, *Puṣya-pūrṇimā*, *Ādivāra*, *uttarāyaṇa-samkramaṇa-vyatīpāta*.

Śaka 1084 expired=*Citrabhānu* by the southern luni-solar system. In this year, mean Makara-samkrānti calculating from the moment of true Meṣa-samkrānti, occurred according to the Ārya Siddhānta, at 13h. 14m. 22s. on **Sunday, 23rd December A.D. 1162**, and calculating from the moment of mean Meṣa-samkrānti, at 16h. 46m. 52s. on Tuesday, 25th December. The true Makara-samkrānti too occurred on that Tuesday at 6h. 16m. 48s. The mean *tithi* Puṣya-su 15 ended on the above Sunday at about 3h. 34m. 8s., while the mean *tithis* associated with the above Tuesday were Puṣya-ba 2 (ending) and Puṣya-ba 3 (beginning). It is hence evident that this Sunday, 23rd December 1162, is the regular equivalent of the date given in the inscription.

4. Date of Belavāla inscription of the time of the above king (*Ibid.* Kaḍūr 16; p. 8): *Śaka* 1094 *Khara*, *Mārgaśira-su* 14, *Somavāra*, *uttarāyaṇa-samkramaṇa-vyatīpāta*.

Śaka 1094 current=*Khara* by the southern luni-solar system; for this year the date is irregular. In the previous year however (regarding such years, see *op. cit.*, p. 31 ff.), mean Dhanus-samkrānti, according to the Ārya Siddhānta, occurred at 4h. 23m. 20s. on **Monday 23rd November 1170 A.D.**, when calculated from the moment of occurrence of the true Meṣa-samkrānti, and at 7h. 55m. 56s. on Wednesday, 25th November, when calculated from the moment of occurrence of the mean Meṣa-samkrānti. True Dhanus-samkrānti too occurred on this Wednesday at 23h. 31m. 0s.

The mean *tithi* Mārgaśira-su 14 began on the above Monday at about 4h. 16m. 32s., while the mean *tithis* associated with the above Wednesday were Mārgaśira-su 15 (ending) and ba-1 (beginning); and it is thus obvious that the above-mentioned Monday (23rd November A.D. 1170) is the equivalent of the date given in the inscription.

Regarding the epithet *uttarāyaṇa* applied to the Dhanus-samkrānti, see *op. cit.*, p. 25 f.

5. Date of the Ānekere copper-grant of Viraballāla II (*Ep. Car.*, V. Cannarāyapaṭṭaṇa 179; p. 462): *Śaka* 1113 *Saumya*, *Puṣya-ba* 11, *Āḍityavāra*, *uttarāyaṇa-samkramaṇa*.

This date has already been discussed by me on p. 126 in *IHQ.*, vol. 4. As I have said there, the date is irregular for Śaka 1113* which corresponded to Saumya by the southern luni-solar system. In the following year however, mean Makara-samkrānti, according to the Ārya Siddhānta, occurred at 19h. 4m. 22s. on **Sunday, 23rd December A.D. 1190**, when calculated from the moment of occurrence of true Meṣa-samkrānti, and at 22h. 36m. 52s. on Tuesday, 25th December, when calculated from that of mean Meṣa-samkrānti. The true Makara-samkrānti too occurred on that Tuesday at 12h. 6m. 48s.

The mean *tithi* Puṣya-ba 11 began on the above Sunday at about 13h. 51m. 23s., while the mean *tithis* associated with the above Tuesday were Puṣya-ba 12 (ending) and ba-13 (beginning); and it is hence obvious that the equivalent of the date given in the inscription is Sunday, 23rd December A.D. 1190.²

² The calculations in this paper have been made with the help of Mr. Sewell's tables referred to above; and in connection with dates 2-5, it may be observed that the results are the same if one uses the Sūrya, instead of the Ārya, Siddhānta.

The hours, minutes and seconds given above should in all cases be counted from the moment of mean Lankā sunrise on the days mentioned.

These are the only dates that I know of in which mean *saṃkrāntis* seem to be cited ; and it becomes clear from what has been said above that these mean *saṃkrāntis* have in all cases been calculated from the moment of occurrence of the true Meṣa-saṃkrānti. In other words, the compilers of the professedly mean-system almanacs from which the details of the above dates were taken, had given in them as the beginning of the solar year, the moment of occurrence of the true and not the mean Meṣa-saṃkrānti. This is, on the face of it, inconsistent ; and the question hence arises in one's mind, why should this have been so ? Why did the compilers of professedly mean-system almanacs give the moment of occurrence of the true, and not the mean, Meṣa-saṃkrānti as the beginning of the solar year ? The only answer that suggests itself to me in this connection is this : As is well-known, it is explicitly stated in the Ārya and Brahma Siddhāntas that, though the Ky. era began at mean sunrise on Friday, 18th February B.C. 3102, the year that began on that day (Ky. year 1 current or 0 expired) was the luni-solar year, and that the true solar year really began on Tuesday, 15th February B.C. 3102, at 20h. 27m. 30s. and 19h. 52m. 22s., respectively. It is easily conceivable therefore that a *jyotiṣika* who wanted to compile a mean-system *pañcāṅga* for, say, the Ky. year 4000 expired according to the Ārya Siddhānta, would have chosen the above-given moment as his starting-point, and by adding to it 365.2586805 (length of the solar year according to the Ārya Siddhānta) \times 4000 days, arrived at the result that the solar year Ky. 4000 expired began on Thursday, 22nd March A.D. 899, at 13h. 47m. 3s. With this moment as basis, he would then, by adding to it 30.438223 days and its multiples determine the moment of occurrence of the mean Vṛṣabha, Mithuna and other *saṃkrāntis*, and at the end, by adding 30.438223 days to the moment of occurrence, so determined, of the mean Mīna-saṃkrānti, arrive at the result that the mean Meṣa-saṃkrānti of the Ky. year 4001 expired occurred at 20h. 0m. 0s. on Friday, 21st March A.D. 900. This however happens to be the exact moment of occurrence of the true Meṣa-saṃkrānti. And thus the moment of occurrence of mean Meṣa-saṃkrānti, determined in this manner by the *jyotiṣika* aforesaid, would be identical in every case with that of true Meṣa-saṃkrānti, due to the circumstance that this *jyotiṣika* took as his starting-point 19h. 52m. 22s. of 15th February B. C. 3102.

At the same time, it is also conceivable that another *jyotiṣika* may have taken as his starting-point 0h. 0m. 0s. (i.e., exactly 6 A.M.) of Friday, 18th February B.C. 3102 (at this moment began the mean-system solar year Ky. 1 current according to the above two Siddhāntas), and by adding to it 365.2586805 \times 4000 days, arrived (as Mr. Sewell has done) at the result that the solar year Ky. 4000 expired, according to the Ārya Siddhānta mean system, began on Saturday, 24th March A.D. 899, at 17h. 20m. 0s., and calculated from this moment the moment of occurrence of the mean Vṛṣabha, Mithuna and other *saṃkrāntis*. These moments are, naturally, different from those determined according to the former method and also from those determined according to the true system of working.

This difference in the moment of occurrence of the mean *saṃkrāntis* leads, in its turn, to a consequence that we must take account of : it causes a difference in the names of lunar months. Thus, to take an instance, I have said in connection with date no. 1 discussed above that, according to the Brahma Siddhānta mean system, mean Puṣya-amāvāsyā began at 14h. 17m. 0s. on Sunday, 22nd December 1185 A.D. According to Mr. Sewell's method of calculating mean *saṃkrāntis*, however, the month of Mārgaśīra was *adhika* in this year (see his table XC) and the mean *tithi* that began on the above Sunday was not Puṣya-amāvāsyā, but Mārgaśīra-amāvāsyā. According to the Brahma Siddhānta true system too, that *tithi* was Mārgaśīra-amāvāsyā ; but the intercalated month was not Mārgaśīra but Bhādrapada (see his table LXXXII). On the other hand, according to the method of calculating mean *saṃkrāntis* that was adopted in connection with the five dates given above, there was no intercalation at all in the year A.D. 1185, and the mean *tithi* that began on the above Sunday was Puṣya-amāvāsyā ; but the month Caitra was intercalated in the next year, A.D. 1186-7.

The difference in the method of calculating mean *saṃkrāntis* has thus, in this instance, led to a difference in the names of five lunar months; and what, according to one method, are the months of *adhika-Mārgasīra*, *Mārgasīra*, *Puṣya*, *Māgha* and *Phālguna*, are, according to the other method, the months of *Mārgasīra*, *Puṣya*, *Māgha*, *Phālguna* and *adhika-Caitra* respectively.

As already observed above, however, I have not up to now come across any date which cites a mean *saṃkrānti* calculated according to the method adopted by Mr. Sewell, while, on the other hand, the five dates given above cite, clearly, mean *saṃkrāntis* calculated according to a different method. It would be well therefore if computers of Indian dates, and especially those that use Mr. Sewell's tables referred to above for this purpose, bear in mind that there is a method of calculating mean *saṃkrāntis* which is different from that adopted by him, and that the employment of this method leads, not only to a difference in the time at which the mean *saṃkrāntis* took place, but, occasionally, to a difference in the years in which intercalary months occurred, and in the names of lunar months also.

THE LUNAR CULT IN INDIA.

By V. R. RAMACHANDRA DIKSHITAR, M.A.

IN an informing note on 'the Traces of Lunar cult in India' in the *Rivista degli Studi Orientali*, vol. XII (1930), Professor Giuseppe Tucci makes the following observation. "While sun worship was widely spread in India, it does not appear that the moon was ever raised to the rank of an independent divinity, or that it ever had its own temples and its own devotees." (Translated from the original Italian by Mr. C. E. A. W. Oldham in the *Ind. Ant.*, Jan. 1932, p. 17.) An endeavour is made here to show that the lunar cult was as old as the solar cult, and the moon enjoyed an independent status like any other deity of the Vedic pantheon. The worship of the moon, like that of the sun, must be traced back to the Vedic period of India's ancient history. It is generally known that orthodox tradition classifies the *Yajurveda saṃhitā* into four *kāṇḍams*. These are the *Prajāpatikāṇḍam*, *Saumya kāṇḍam*, *Āgneya kāṇḍam* and *Vaiśvadeva kāṇḍam*. Of these, the *Saumya kāṇḍam* is in honour of the moon, who is raised to the rank of divinities like the *Prajāpati*-, *Agni*- and *Viśvadevas*. The texts of the *Saṃhitā* which are devoted to the elaboration of sacrificial ritual refer to the moon as an *adhipati* of the sacrifice, and hence a *devatā*. If the evidence of the *Yajurveda-saṃhitā* teaches us anything, it is that the moon is raised to the rank of a *yajña* or sacrificial deity and is undoubtedly a Vedic god. There is again the invaluable testimony of the *Brāhmaṇa* literature where the moon is looked upon as an independent divinity. In the *Taittirīya Brāhmaṇa* we have what is known as the *Somasūktam*, and this *sūktam* is celebrated in honour of the moon (II, viii, 3). These hymns in praise of the moon can be favourably compared to the *Rudrasūktam*, *Puruṣasūktam* and other Vedic *sūktams* of much importance. Added to this is the statement that the presiding deity of the *śaḍhotā* in the sacrificial literature is no one else than Candra or the moon-god. (*Ibid.*, II, ii, 11-12.) Besides their use in the *yajñas* or sacrifices, they are used in connection with a number of ceremonials attending the innumerable *vratams* or special vows and the installation of images in temples, much adumbrated in the *Purāṇa* literature and the *Āgama* treatises as well. (See the *Matsya-purāṇa*, ch. 265, 24.)

The *Purāṇas*, which are regarded as the fifth Veda according to the tradition transmitted in the Indian religious and secular works, make elaborate references to the different aspects of the lunar cult. The moon is one of the ten *dig-pālas* or the guardian deities of the directions. (See the *Matsya Purāṇa*, ch. 266-26.) He is the lord of the twenty-seven *nakṣatras* (*Ibid.*, ch. 23, 1 ff.) and is one of the nine planets which go by the name of *navagrahas*. (*Ibid.*, ch. 93-10.) He is above all the *ōṣadhipati*, or the lord of oceans and plants. (*Ibid.*, ch. 266, 25.)

Let us now turn our attention to the vast treasures of Tamil literature of South India, and try to find out whether the Tamil literary tradition has anything to corroborate the above statements and to throw fresh light on the topic under discussion. The *Tolkāppiyam*, which cannot be later than fourth century B.C., has a significant expression, *aṟumuraivāḷttu*, or in praise of six deities or persons. Perhaps Ilaṅko-Adigaḷ follows this custom if one examines carefully the opening lines of that epic, the *Śilappadikāram*. The author of the *Śilappadikāram* mentions these six in the following order: moon, sun, rains, world, sages and the king of the land. (Canto I, ll. 1 ff.) It is of particular interest to note that the Tamil classic of the second century A.D. begins with an invocation to the moon god. (See M. Raghava Aiyangar's *Tolkāppiya Poruladhikāra Āraicci*, 2nd ed., p. 129, *note*.) According to the celebrated commentator Naccinārkkiniyar, the *Vallivāḷttu* is the hymn in praise of Valli or the moon. (See the gloss on *Tolk. Puratt. sūtra*, 33.) It will thus appear that from the time of the grammarian Tolkāppiyānār, if not earlier, the moon came to be recognised by the Tamils as one among their different deities, and a place of high honour is given by the prince-poet Ilaṅko-Adigaḷ to the moon (*tiṅgal*). But what is more important and most interesting is the unmistakable reference to a temple of moon. The Tamil expression for that temple is *Nilākkottam* (Canto IX, l. 13), which existed in ancient Puhār or Kāvēripaṭṭanam. Here is an explicit statement of the existence of a temple dedicated to the moon which cannot be disputed. According to Ktesias (400 B.C.) there were temples dedicated to the sun and moon, at a distance of 15 days' journey from Mount Abu. After quoting this authority Mr. C. V. Vaidya further remarks: "There was a temple of the moon at Prabhāsa." (*History of Medieval India*, vol. I, p. 255.) These evidences bear ample testimony to the existence of moon temples in India and moon worship both in the north and the far south.

Though the temples of the moon have disappeared, the worship of the moon still continues. A relic of the old custom which is frequently referred to in the *Śaṅgam* works and later Tamil literature goes by the name of *Piṇaiōḷutal*, literally, the worship of the moon. (See *Kuṟuntogai*, stanza 307. *Iṟayanār Ahapporul, sūtra* 7, p. 67 and the stray but rare stanza quoted in the same page: *Nālaḍiyār*, stanza 176: See also the *Perumtogai* collection of M. Raghava Aiyangar, p. 32.) Here is a stanza praising the moon, technically entitled *devapāṇi*. That this class of poems existed is seen from the comment of Arumpada-vurai ācāriyar on the line 37, Canto VI of the *Śilappadikāram*.)

In this connection the *Tirukkovai*, which deals with *Ahapporul*, is worthy of note. The *Tirukkovai*, of Mānikkavāśakar of the ninth century A.D. belongs to the high class works on Hindu mysticism which ordinarily seem to be texts on love poetry. (See author's *Studies in Tamil Literature and History*, pp. 99-101.) The stanza (67) gives a glimpse of social life in ancient Tamil land. It was a custom with the ancient Tamils, and this is current even now, to watch the moon rising on the second day after the new moon day. This seeing of the moon is religious in character and tantamount to the worship of the moon. The maid waiting on the lady love, innocent of the fact that her mistress had already enjoyed, though secretly, her husband's company, urges her to come out and pay her respects to the moon. But the mistress refuses to worship the deity, thus giving a sure hint that she had her own husband, who is to her all god. Incidentally we are introduced to a great truth and its practice in the Tamil land that chaste women do not worship any god except their own husbands, whom they worship as their god. It may be well to bear in mind that this was the great maxim taught by Tiruvalluvar in his thought-provoking treatise the *Tirukkuraḷ* (see the *kuraḷvenba*, 55).

To return to the subject proper, the lunar cult was known in early Tamil India, as well as in Vedic India. There were temples dedicated to that deity, though such instances have become extinct. The worship of the moon as a planet, as a *digpāla* and as the lord of the vegetable kingdom is still largely prevalent.

MISCELLANEA.

IMPORTANT FRAGMENTARY INSCRIPTION
FOUND AT MAHĀSTHĀN (BOGRA
DISTRICT).

(The following note on the Mauryan Brāhmī inscription recently found at Mahāsthān in the Bogra district was read by Prof. D. R. Bhandarkar at the Symposium of the Asiatic Society of Bengal held on the 2nd January 1933.)

This fragmentary but most interesting inscription in Mauryan Brāhmī was discovered, on the 31st of November 1931, by one Baru Faqir of the Mahāsthānāra village in the Bogra district of Bengal, not far from a mound which was being excavated by the Archaeological Department.

The fragment, as it is, contains six lines of writing in the Brāhmī Alphabet of the Aśokan records. The language is the same as that of his Pillar Edicts, that is to say, it was the language of Madhyadeśa influenced by Māgadhi, or rather the court language of Magadha. The purport of the inscription is briefly as follows. Some ruler of the Mauryan period, whose name is lost, had issued an order to the Mahāmātra stationed at Puṇḍranagara, with a view to relieve the distress caused apparently by famine to a people called Saṁvāṅgiyas, who were settled in and about the town. Two measures were adopted to meet this contingency. The first apparently consisted of the advance of a loan in *gaṇḍaka* currency, and the second of the distribution of *dhānya*, or paddy, from the district granary. A wish is expressed that the Saṁvāṅgiyas will thus be able to tide over the calamity. With the restoration of plenty they were asked to return the money to the Treasury and the grain to the Granary.

It will be seen that this epigraphic record is of great historical importance. In the first place, it establishes the identity of the present Mahāsthān with the ancient Puṇḍranagara. The last line of the inscription clearly shows that it was fixed into the structure of a Granary which could not have been far from the place where the stone plaque was found. The Granary was thus situated in the present area of Mahāsthān. And as the Granary originally belonged to Puṇḍranagara, there can be no doubt as to Mahāsthān being identical with Puṇḍranagara. Cunningham, with his topographical instincts, had long ago identified the two on the evidence of the Chinese pilgrim, Yuan Chwang. But his identification had remained more or less uncertain for want of epigraphic evidence. But the find of our record now leaves no doubt on this point.

The second point of historical interest that we have to note is the manner in which the state in ancient India endeavoured to combat the ravages of a famine. Mention is made in this inscription of the distribution of *dhānya*, or unhusked rice. This paddy obviously must have been used as seed for sowing operations, and, also when husked, must

have served the purpose of food. It may, however, be asked : why money was at all distributed among the Saṁvāṅgiyas ? In this connection we have to remember that in East Bengal, where nature is so plentiful, a famine can take place only through the inundation of a river. Mahāsthān, that is, Puṇḍranagara, is situated on a river, namely, the Karatoyā. And when a town is settled on a river, the floods cause devastation not simply to the crops in the fields, but also to the buildings and huts which are perched on its border. To meet this contingency, a money grant has to be made to the people whose belongings have been washed away or seriously affected by the floods. This is perhaps the only explanation that can be given of the disbursement of *gaṇḍaka* coins among the Saṁvāṅgiyas. What again we have to note here is that this disbursement of money and this distribution of unhusked rice were made to this people without any interest. If they had been charged with any, surely there would have been some reference to it in our record.

Perhaps ours is not the first known inscription which relates to the putting up of a granary as a safeguard against scarcity of food. Of practically the same period is an inscribed copper-plate found at Sohagaura, about fourteen miles south-east from Gorakhpur (*I.A.*, XXV, 261 f.). A cursory glance at its contents will convince anybody that it refers not to one but to two granaries, and that this plate is an order to some Mahāmātra, stationed apparently at Śrāvastī, to open the two granaries and distribute their contents when any dire contingency called for it. In fact, the idea of counteracting the ravages of a famine by the erection of granaries and store-houses is pretty ancient in India, and it is not therefore a matter of surprise if the Mahāsthān inscription also adverts to the measures commonly employed by the State to combat the devastation caused by a famine in ancient Bengal.

Let us now see what further light our record throws on the ancient history of Bengal. It is a pity that the first line of the inscription has not been preserved. The name of the ruler, if any was mentioned, is thus lost irretrievably. But as the alphabet and the language of our record are exactly like those of the Aśokan edicts, it is not impossible that he was a prince of the Mauryan dynasty. We have already seen that the language of this epigraph is the language of Madhyadeśa influenced by Māgadhi. It was really the language of the Mauryan Court in Magadha, which, owing to its outgrowing imperialism, had spread not only over the whole of Madhyadeśa but also over parts conterminous with it. In fact, it had become the *lingua franca* of almost the whole of North India. We now see definitely that this *lingua franca* had spread even to Bengal and was in vogue there as early as the fourth century B.C. as our inscription conclusively proves

it. It is true that Brâhmanism took a long long time to spread over Bengal. The Aryan culture seems for the first time to have been disseminated in ancient Bengal by the Jainas. It is curious to note that while Bihâr and Kosala were taken by Buddha and his adherents Bengal was selected by Mahâvira and his followers for their proselytising activities. It is true that no traces of this original Jainism are now left in Bengal. But even as late as the middle of the seventh century A.D. the Chinese pilgrim Yuan Chwang testifies to the Nirgrantha Jainas being numerous in Puṇḍravardhana (*Ann. Bhand. Or. Res. Inst.*, XII, 104 f.). Only the other day a copper-plate charter was discovered during excavations at Pahârpur in Bengal, dated G.E. 159=477 A.D., which registers a grant for the worship of Arhats at a *vihâra* situated not far from this place and presided over by the disciples of the Nirgrantha preceptor Guhanandin (*E.I.*, XX, 61 f.). No reasonable doubt can thus be entertained as to Jainism and especially Nirgranthism, having been prevalent in Bengal up till the seventh century A.D. This at the most may explain the employment of the Brâhmî alphabet in our inscription, but the use of the court language of Pâtaliputra is a clear indication of Bengal, at any rate North Bengal, being included in the Mauryan dominions.

The last point of historical interest that we have now to consider is : who were the Samvāṅgiyas, supposing that was the name really intended. Samvāṅgiyas in the first place remind us of Samvājīs. We know that to the account of *Fu-li-chih* (=Vrijī) by Yuan Chwang a note is added by the commentator, saying that "*Fu-li-chi* was in 'North India,' and that the north people called it the *Sam-fa-chih* (or Samvājī) (Watters, vol. II, p. 81). On this point Beal makes the following pertinent comment : "The country of the Vrijjis or Samvrijjis, i.e., united Vrijjis, was that of the confederated eight tribes of the people called the Vrijjis or Vajjis, one of which, viz., that of the Lichchhavis, dwelt at Vaiśālī" (Beal, *Records*, vol. II, p. 77,

n. 100). Just as the eight confederate clans, of whom the Vajjis were the most important, were called collectively the Samvājīs, or the united Vajjis, it is not at all unreasonable to conjecture that there were confederate clans in East Bengal who were similarly conglomerated under the collective term of Samvāṅgiyas. This shows that the most prominent of these at the beginning was the Vāṅgiyas, after whom the confederation was styled the Samvāṅgiyas, or the 'united Vāṅgiyas'. The second point to be noted here is that the people of East Bengal are now called Vāṅgas, and it may now be asked where was the necessity of coining from it a name which is an obvious derivative from it, namely, Vāṅgiya. If we now turn to the *Vāyu* and *Matsya Purāṇas* and study the chapters dealing with *Bhuvana-vinyāsa*, we find that they mention the two allied clans, Pravāṅgas and Vāṅgēyas. But be it noted that none of them has been called Vāṅga. Secondly, the second of these names comes so close to the Vāṅgiya of our inscription that our inscription being earlier than any one of these *Purāṇas* and being a genuine record of the time, Vāṅgiya must doubtless be considered to be the original name and the reading Vāṅgēya of the *Purāṇas* thus becomes a corrupt form of it. Again, the fact that Pravāṅgas are coupled with Vāṅgiyas (wrongly called Vāṅgēyas) in these early *Purāṇas* shows that they were confederated clans and fell under the Samvāṅgiyas. And, further, the reference to the Samvāṅgiyas in connection with Puṇḍranagara goes to indicate that the Puṇḍras also belonged to the Samvāṅgiya confederacy. And just as in the time of the Buddha the capital of the Samvājī confederacy was Vesālī, which was the head-quarters, not of the Vajjis, but of the Lichchhavis who were then prominent, it seems that in the time of our inscription the capital of the Samvāṅgiyas was Puṇḍranagara, which was the head-quarters, not of the Vāṅgiyas, but of the Puṇḍras, after whom it was undoubtedly called Puṇḍranagara.

BOOK-NOTICES.

BUDDHIST LOGIC: Volume II. By TH. STCHERBATSKY. Bibliotheca Buddhica XXVI. 9×6 inches: pp. vi + 469. Academy of Sciences of the USSR: Leningrad, 1930.

Some thirty years have passed since Professor Stcherbatsky first began to write on the subject of Buddhist logic, and the two volumes of the present work, of which the second is the first to appear, contain the matured fruit of his researches during that long period. Here we have the materials on which the first volume, not yet in the reviewer's hands, is based, namely a translation into English of Dharmakīrti's *Nyāyabindu* and Dharmottara's commentary, accompanied by several appendices containing extracts on points of importance from Vācaspati Miśra

and others. The author, as is well known, believes firmly in the impossibility of translating Sanskrit philosophical treatises with any degree of literalness and in previous books he has paraphrased with the greatest freedom, but with results that were most decidedly open to criticism. For when strong views are held about contentious matters, it is difficult to be objective in paraphrasing and to avoid tendentiousness; the views colour the translation and give it a misleading effect. When also a text is not quite correctly apprehended, too free a rendering may result in something which bears no resemblance at all to the original. In the present work, however, he has successfully avoided these pitfalls and does so by keeping in fact much closer to the text than

he has been accustomed to do. The *Nyāyabindu* and its commentary is straightforward enough in appearance, but the exact significance of each term and argument is singularly difficult to grasp in its entirety and still more difficult, when grasped, to render accurately and intelligibly. Yet here an extraordinary measure of success has been attained ; for this is undoubtedly far and away the best translation of any Sanskrit work on logic that we have, a veritable *tour de force*, when we remember that English is not the author's native language and that complete mastery of its idiomatic peculiarities is indispensable for a precise reproduction of the subtleties of the original. Even if occasionally there are lapses in grammar, they are no hindrance to understanding and an Englishman is the best person to bear witness to the high quality of the achievement. Much of the success, it should be added, attained in making Dharmakīrti's and Dharmottara's position comprehensible is due to the admirable notes, which bring out clearly the importance and originality of Buddhist logic by means of comparisons with modern German and English work in this domain.

In the absence of the first volume a discussion of general principles would be out of place, but in reviewing a book which will be read with the closest attention by specialists and which may be earnestly recommended to all students starting on the study of Indian logic, it is not otiose to indicate one or two points to which with diffidence I am inclined to take exception ; with diffidence, not merely because it is a case of *impar congressus*, but also because in some cases disagreement may be due not to differences on matters of substance but to the failure of the translation to give exact effect to the intentions of Professor Stcherbatsky. I notice he is reluctant to admit that *artha* usually means simply the object to which *pratyakṣa* is directed, without any philosophical implications as to the nature or reality of the object ; for instance text, p. 7, 12-13, is correctly given literally in a footnote, but the construction put upon it in the translation seems to me to go too far. Again in text, p. 6, 5 and 8, the two occurrences of *ekārthasamavētam*, which means something like 'associated with a single object,' is translated the first time 'as its implication,' and the second time 'inherent in the same object,' so putting a wrong complexion on the whole passage. Similarly the long and important discussion of negation in the chapter on *svārthānumāna* is very hard to follow, because a number of different translations are tried for *drśya* and *adrśya*, in order to import the idea, which is quite irrelevant to Dharmottara's argument, that to a *Vijñānavādin* *drśya* means, not something real, but something imagined. When the author finally abandons the attempt and settles down to the equivalent 'sensibilia,' he becomes intelligible again and gives us the precise effect of the text. The point I would make in

referring to these passages is that Dharmakīrti and his commentator use ordinarily and of set purpose a vocabulary which would enable their theories to be professed either by realist or by idealist Buddhists. Each party could put their own construction on the language without impairing the force of the arguments, but I would hold that in certain cases the actual method used in the translation to force the views of one party, the idealists, into the text is open to criticism as befogging the issues and that a more straightforward rendering would have been more accurate and more comprehensible.

This may be illustrated by a point to which a more competent hand than mine (La Vallée Poussin, *Mélanges chinois et bouddhiques*, vol. I, 415) has drawn attention, Professor Stcherbatsky's translation of *sārūpya* by 'co-ordination' with the implications he draws therefrom. The term is confined almost entirely in this work to perception. This latter is divided into two distinct stages, firstly the action of the sense organ, which results in an exact reflection of the object, always here called *pratibhāsa*, and secondly, the action of *kalpanā*, the constructive imagination, which constructs an image out of the reflection. This image is regularly called *ābhāsa* by which is indicated a lack of exactness or reality, its nature as a product of imagination ; in the one passage (text, p. 8, 2) where *avabhāsa* is substituted for it the *va* is probably interpolated, so that we should read *ārthābhāsa*. In the text, p. 15, 8 ff., the image is described as the shape (*ākāra*) that the mind takes and thereby through the likeness (*sārūpya*) to the object the cognition of the object is completed (*arthapratīṣiddhi*) ; 'co-ordination' fails to express adequately this process, whose original purpose was to explain how cognition took place without actual contact between the mind, the sense organ and the object. Incidentally the theory of the reflection of the object cannot but strike one as possessing remarkable analogies with the classical Sāṃkhya theory of the action of *citi* in the *puruṣa*.

A minor matter is the translation of *mātrivāhākramopadēśavat* (text, p. 2, 24) by '< that its aim was undesirable, > like the instruction about the ritual to be followed at the (re)-marriage ceremony of (one's own) mother'. Whether *krama* can mean ritual I need not discuss, but why 'one's own mother' ? There are two alternatives, either by taking *mātr* as equivalent to *mātrgrāma*, a common Buddhist term for 'women' generally, and understanding that widow marriage is entirely disapproved of, or, in view of the fact that the *Kāmasūtra*'s section on the *punarbhū* proves the second marriages of women not to be uncommon or to be considered objectionable in certain circumstances, by translating *mātr* as 'one who has borne children to her first husband' and inferring that remarriage was improper in such cases only.

But, taken all round, the translation is remarkably successful for its accurate reproduction of the

arguments of the original in intelligible form and constitutes a contribution to the subject of the highest importance, for which all of us, whether specialists in logic or general students, cannot but be deeply grateful to the Russian scholar.

E. H. J.

AN INTRODUCTION TO BUDDHIST ESOTERISM. By BENOYTOSH BHATTACHARYYA. 10×7½ inches: pp. viii + 184. 12 plates. Oxford University Press, 1932.

Till recently it has been impossible to form any detailed idea of Buddhist Tantrism for want of original texts. The Baroda Oriental Institute has now published some of the most important in editions, which are readable but not up to the best standards of scholarship through failure to correct faulty MSS. by reference to the Tibetan translations and through omission to consult the few European publications on the subject. The obscurity of the wording is such that our knowledge has not been advanced as much as it should have been, and Dr. Bhattacharyya's brief sketch is accordingly welcome. To what extent does he lead us to modify our previous views? At the end he remarks, 'The Tantras should be regarded as the greatest contribution of India to world culture,' a statement at entire variance with the rest of his book, which tends to prove the exact opposite. It is in fact hard to disentangle from the curious farrago of which most Tantric works consist those elements which are original and important, nor does the author give us all the help he might. For he is evidently insufficiently acquainted with the results of recent research on the Vijnānavāda system, to which Buddhist Tantrism owes its philosophical framework, and I doubt the possibility of making definite assertions on points of doctrine till one of the leading treatises, preferably the *Guhyasamāja*, has been translated and explained to us in all its implications and double meanings in the light of the many commentaries extant in Tibetan.

Meanwhile, from what Dr. Bhattacharyya has to tell us, the main principles would seem to be (1) absolute submission to the guru, (2) belief in the possibility of attaining magic powers, (3) belief in salvation by the shortcut of such powers, (4) the release of aspirants and Yogins from all principles of morality. These magic powers are evidently closely connected with the phenomena of hypnotism, as appears from an excellent thesis just published by Dr. Lindquist (*Die Methoden des Yoga*, Lund, 1932); originally the practice of Yoga was undertaken to make the understanding of certain religious truths a part of the personality by the process of auto-suggestion, but what was once a means has developed in this school to an end in itself. Naturally there will be a difference of opinion between those who accept the claims of the Tantrists at their face value and those, the majority, who do not.

Nothing in this book is likely to make the latter recede from their verdict that the Tantra cannot be held to have any real value as religion or philosophy and that in some aspects it is, as the author states in his preface, the product of diseased minds.

On one point we may be all agreed, that, whatever its other deficiencies, it did give rise to an art, which, if by no means of the front rank, has produced a body of work of definite æsthetic value, and Dr. Bhattacharyya's publications with their admirable illustrations have done much to bring this home to everyone.

E. H. J.

GEOGRAPHY OF EARLY BUDDHISM, by BIMALA CHURN LAW, M.A., B.L., PH.D. 9½×6 in.: xxi + 89 pp.; with sketch map. London, Kegan Paul, Trench, Trubner & Co., 1932. 3s. 6d.

This little volume, which contains a fairly complete collection of such geographical information as is to be found in the Pāli Buddhist texts, will be of use to research students, inasmuch as it furnishes carefully collated references to the texts in which the names are found. Students of Indian history and geography are constantly confronted with the difficulty—at times insuperable—of identifying the territorial divisions and sites mentioned in the old texts. The limits of countries (*deśa*) and other geographical divisions have altered from time to time, and their very names changed, while capitals have been transferred and sites abandoned for various reasons. Any evidence that will help to determine the geographical conditions at definite periods is, therefore, of value. Though we cannot find that any fresh identification of importance has been disclosed, we welcome this little compilation by one who has devoted so much time and labour to the furtherance of Buddhistic research. The sketch map, however, has not been prepared with sufficient care.

C. E. A. W. O.

O ORIENTE PORTUGUES, April, July and October, 1932.

We recently welcomed the revival of this journal, the organ of the Permanent Archæological Commission of Goa. The issues before us contain much that is of interest to local antiquarians. From the nature of the case, most of the matter is ecclesiastical, but in the wider field of Indian history we may notice the text of an agreement made in 1686 between the Viceroy and some rebellious vassals of Sambhâji, and the exploration of a shrine of Śiva, which was destroyed in the eighteenth century, and which appears to date from the days when Goa was in the possession of Vijayanagar.

W. H. M.

THE MĀṆḌŪKYOPANIṢAD AND GAUḌAPĀDA.

By A. VENKATASUBBIAH.

THE Māṇḍūkya is one of the ten 'major' upaniṣads, the other nine being the Īśāvāsyā, Kena, Kaṭha, Prasna, Muṇḍaka, Taittirīya, Aitareya, Chāndogya and Bṛhadāraṇyaka. Though it is the shortest of the ten,¹ and in fact, of the hundred-and-eight upaniṣads, it is esteemed to be the best. Compare, for instance, Muktikopaniṣad I, 26-29 :

Māṇḍūkyam ekam evāṇam mumukṣūnāṃ vimuktaye || 26 ||
tathāpy asiddham cej jñānam daśopaniṣadam paṭha |
jñānam labdhvā 'cirād eva māmakaṃ dhāma yāsyasi || 27 ||
tathāpi dr̥ghatā no ced vijñānasyāñjanāsuta |
dvātriṃśākyopaniṣadam samabhyasya nivartaya || 28 ||
videha-muktāv icchā ced aṣṭottara-śulam paṭha |

"The Māṇḍūkya alone is sufficient to lead aspirants to liberation. If even so (i.e., even after reading it), knowledge is not attained, read the ten upaniṣads ; you will then soon obtain knowledge and attain my abode. If even then, O son of Añjanā,² there is no firmly-established knowledge, read again and again the thirty-two upaniṣads and return (to my abode). If there is desire for *videha-mukti* (liberation after leaving the body), read the hundred-and-eight upaniṣads."

The Māṇḍūkya consists of but twelve sentences, and the first seven of them, in which the teaching of the upaniṣad may be said to be complete, are found with little or no variation in the *Nṛsiṃha-pūrva-tāpinī* (4, 2), *Nṛsiṃhottara-tāpinī*³ (1) and *Rāmottara-tāpinī* upaniṣads also, while the substance of their teaching is given, in the same words mostly, in the *Yogacūḍāmaṇi* (72 ff.) and *Nārada-parivrājaka* (7, 3 ff.) upaniṣads.

The Māṇḍūkya has, as is well known, 215 kārīkās or compendious verses attached to it, which form an appendix or supplement to it. These verses are grouped into four prakaraṇas or sections known as Āgama-prakaraṇa, Vaitathya-pra°, Advaita-pra°, and Alātaśānti-pra°, which contain 29, 38, 48 and 100 verses respectively. The verses of the last three prakaraṇas are to be read one after the other regularly, but those of the first are not. They are interspersed among the sentences of the Māṇḍūkya in the following manner : vss. 1-9 are interposed between sentences 6 and 7, vss. 10-18 between sentences 7 and 8, and vss. 19-23 between sentences 11 and 12, while vss. 27-29 follow sentence 12.

According to the opinion current among scholars of the Advaita school, the sentences of the Māṇḍūkya alone are *śruti* (i.e., divine revelation), and all the 215 kārīkās are written by Gauḍapāda, the teacher of Govinda-bhagavatpāda, who was the teacher of Śrī Śaṅkarācārya, the founder of the Advaita school. According to the scholars of the Dvaita school of Śrī Madhvācārya (or Ānandatīrtha), however, the kārīkās of the last three sections only are to be attributed to Gauḍapāda, while those of the first prakaraṇa (which, as we have seen, are interspersed among the sentences of the Māṇḍūkya) form an integral part of the Māṇḍūkya Upaniṣad, and have thus the character of *śruti*.

It is my object in this paper to show that both these opinions are wrong. For, not only the 215 kārīkās, but the twelve sentences that comprise the Māṇḍūkya also have been written by Gauḍapāda, as comes out clearly from Śaṅkara's commentary on the Māṇḍūkya and GK :⁴

¹ The citations made in this paper from the ten major upaniṣads are based on the Ānandāśrama editions ; those from the other upaniṣads are based on the Nirṇayasāgara Press edition of the *Hundred and Eight Upaniṣads* published in 1913.

² i.e., Hanumān. The passage is addressed by Śrī-Rāma to him.

³ This upaniṣad contains, with many additions, the last five sentences also of the Māṇḍūkya.

⁴ i.e., Gauḍapāda-kārīkās.

(1) After two⁵ benedictory stanzas, Śaṅkara begins the commentary proper with the following sentences :—

om ity etad akṣaram idam sarvaṃ tasyopavyākhyānam | vedāntārtha-sāra-saṃgraha-bhūtam idam prakaraṇa-catustayam om-ity-etad-akṣaram-ity-ādy ārabhyate | ata eva na prthak sambandhābhidheya-prayojanāni vaktavyāni | yāny eva tu vedānte sambandhābhidheya-prayojanāni tāny eveha bhavitum arhanti |tatra tāvad oṃ-kāra-nirṇayāya prathamam prakaraṇam āgama-pradhānam ātmatattva-pratipatty-upāya-bhūtam | yasya dvaita-prapañcasyopasāme 'dvaita-pratipatti' rajjvām iva sarpādi-vikalpopasāme rajjutattva-pratipattiḥ | tasya dvaitasya hetuto vaitathya-pratipādanāya dvitīyam prakaraṇam | tathā 'dvaitasyāpi vaitathya-prasaṅga-prāptau yuktilas tathātva-darśanāya tṛtīyam prakaraṇam | advaitasya tathātva-pratipatti-pratipakṣa-bhūtanī yāni vādānta-rāṇy avaidikāni teṣām anyonya-virodhkītvād atathārthatvena tad-upapattibhir eva nirākaraṇāya caturtham prakaraṇam |

He states clearly in the first two of these sentences (a) that the work that he is going to comment on begins with the words *om ity etad akṣaram idam* . . . , (b) that it consists of four sections, and (c) that the work with its four sections is an epitome of the teachings of the Vedānta. In the last five of the sentences cited, he states (1) that the first section explains the significance of the syllable *om* and the nature of the ātman, and consists mostly of propositions⁶; (2) that the second demonstrates with reasons the falseness of dualism; (3) that the third shows with reasons the rightness of Advaita; and (4) that the fourth shows how the very arguments, urged by opponents of Advaita belonging to non-Vedic schools, are mutually destructive and serve only to firmly establish Advaita.⁷

The words *om ity etad akṣaram* . . . cited by Śaṅkara form, as can be seen, the beginning of the Māṇḍūkya; and it hence becomes clear that, in Śaṅkara's opinion (1) the Āgama-prakaraṇa began with these words, and not with *atraite ślokā bhavanti || baḥiḥ-prajño vibhur viśvo* . . . as believed by present-day paṇḍits of the Advaita school, and (2) that all the four prakaraṇas have the same author. In other words, it is clear that the twelve sentences comprising the Māṇḍūkya are, in the opinion of Śaṅkara, of the same nature as the verses which, with these sentences, form the Āgama-prakaraṇa, and that they have been written by the same person as wrote the 215 kārīkās.

(2) That the Āgama-prakaraṇa began with the words *om ity etad akṣaram* . . . , and that they were written by the author of the kārīkās is, further, made plain by two observations of Ānandagiri. When explaining GK. IV. 1. Ānandagiri writes: *ādy-anta-madhyamaṅgalā granthāḥ pracāriṇo bhavāntīty abhipretya ādāv oṃ-kāroccāraṇavad ante para-devatā-praṇāmavan madhye'pi para-devatā-rūpam upadeśtaraṃ praṇamati*. The words *ādāv oṃ-kāroccāraṇavat* used here refer to the *om* that stands at the beginning of Māṇḍūkya: *om ity etad akṣaram idam* Similarly, when explaining the second stanza, *yo viśvātmā vidhija-viśayān* . . . that occurs in the beginning of Śaṅkara's commentary, Ānandagiri observes: *anye tv ādya-ślokaṃ mūla-ślokāntarbhūtam abhyupagacchanto dvitīya-ślokaṃ bhāṣyakāra-praṇītam abhyupayanti | tad asat | uttara-ślokeṣv iva ādye'pi śloke bhāṣyakīto vyākhyāna-praṇayana-prasaṅgāt | om ity etad akṣaram ity-ādi-bhāṣya-virodhāc ca*.

Ānandagiri's reference here to 'other' commentators (*ṭīkākāra*) who looked upon the first benedictory stanza, *prajñānāmśu-pratānāḥ sthira-cara-nikara-vyāpibhiḥ* . . . as 'belonging to the original,' and regarded the second stanza only as written by Śaṅkara, is of much interest in this connection. This first stanza is plainly benedictory in character, and strikes

⁵ This is according to the opinion of Ānandagiri. He has himself however reported in his *ṭīkā* on Śaṅkara's *bhāṣya* that there were some *ṭīkākāras* among his predecessors who thought that Śaṅkara wrote one benedictory stanza only.

⁶ i.e., mere statements unaccompanied by reasons proving them.

⁷ And he thus indicates that the work with its four sections is a unity conceived and executed according to a well-arranged plan.

a personal note with its 'I bow to Brahman'; and since none of the hundred-and-eight upaniṣads, with the exception of one,⁸ begins with any benedictory verse, it is clear that the 'other' commentators also, referred to by Ānandagiri, must have held the opinion that the work before them, beginning with *prajñānāmśu-pratānaiḥ*, containing the sentence *om ity etad akṣaram idam....*, and ending with *namaskurmo yathā-balam* [GK. IV. 100d] was wholly written by Gauḍapāda. In other words, these commentators must have believed that the twelve sentences that are now regarded as comprising the Māndūkya Upaniṣad formed part of the Āgama-prakarāṇa which was written by Gauḍapāda (and which began with the stanza *prajñānāmśu-pratānaiḥ*).

Parenthetically, I may observe that Ānandagiri's objections against the first stanza forming part of the original work are not unanswerable. For, it is possible that it did really stand at the beginning of Gauḍapāda's work and that Śaṅkara began his commentary with the explanation of the words of the work proper (i.e., of the sentence *om ity etad akṣaram idam....*) not thinking it worth while to explain the benedictory verse. His statement that the words *om ity etad akṣaram....* mark the beginning of the work would not be incorrect, as the work proper really begins with these words. And then there would be no need to search for an explanation (that given by Ānandagiri, as also the two mentioned by him as given by other commentators is not very satisfactory) as to why Śaṅkara wrote two benedictory stanzas having the same meaning. Moreover the stanza *prajñānāmśu-pratānaiḥ....* faithfully reflects the opinions of Gauḍapāda, is just the one that he would write if he wanted to, and is in all respects well suited to stand at the beginning of Gauḍapāda's work.⁹

(3) That all the four sections are written by the same author, and that the first section includes the twelve prose sentences (now known as the Māndūkya Upan.) as an integral part, is made plain by the cross-references also that Śaṅkara makes in his commentary. Thus, in his commentary on GK. I, 6, he observes, "Similarly the author¹⁰ writes below *vandhyā-putro na jānāti*" and refers to GK. III. 28cd. In his commentary on sentence 12 in the Āgama-prakarāṇa, he observes, "Similarly, the author writes below, *āśramās trividhā hīnāḥ* [=GK. III. 16]." While explaining GK. II. 1, he writes, "It has been said above, *jñāte dvaitam na vidyate* (=I. 18)"; similarly, in his commentary on GK. III. 1, he writes, "The (result of the) full comprehension of the significance of the syllable *om* has been declared above in the statements *prapañcopaśamaḥ śivo 'dvaita. . . ātmā* (=sentence 12] and *jñāte dvaitam na vidyate*." The latter passage is referred to again by Śaṅkara in his commentary on GK. IV, 73, where he has observed, "It has already been stated above, *jñāte dvaitam na vidyate*."

It will be noticed that in the words cited above from Śaṅkara's commentary on GK. III, 1, he makes no distinction between sentence 12 and GK. I, 16. Similarly it can be seen from the words, "Thus the author has said below, *jñāte dvaitam na vidyate*," that occur in his commentary on sentence 7, that he makes no distinction between the verses and prose sentences of the first section, but holds them to be the writing of the same author. These cross-references thus show that Śaṅkara holds that the verses in GK. II-III, and also the verses and prose sentences in the Āgama-prakarāṇa, are written by the same author.

⁸ The NirālamUpaṇiṣad; but there is no personal note in its benedictory stanza which reads, *namaś Śīrāya gurave sac-cid-ānanda-mūrtaye | nisprapañcāya śāntāya nirālamāya tejase*.

⁹ For it indicates what the subject-matter, purpose, relation, etc., of the book are. Compare in this connection Ānandagiri's observation: *arthād apekṣitam abhidheyādya-anubandham api śucayati*.

¹⁰ There is no word in the original that corresponds to 'author.' Śaṅkara merely uses the verb *āha*, leaving the subject to be understood. We can supply the word *śrutiḥ* as subject if we like (one has to do so frequently in similar circumstances in Śaṅkara's commentaries on the *Īśārāya* and other upaniṣads) or the word *Ācāryaḥ* (teacher), *granthakartā* (author), or similar word. For the reasons shown, we cannot supply the word *śrutiḥ*, and I have therefore supplied the word 'author' as subject.

(4) Who this author was, is made plain by the following verse which is found at the end of Śaṅkara's commentary on GK. :

*prajñā-vaiśākha-vedha-kṣubhita-jalanidher veda-nāmno 'ntarasithaṁ
bhūtāny ālokya magnāny avirata-janana-grāha-ghore samudre |
kāruṇjād uddadhārām tam idam amarair durlabham bhūtahetor
yas tam pūjyābhīpūjyam parama-gurum amuṁ pāda-pātair nato 'smi ||*

"I bow and prostrate myself many times at the feet of my grand-teacher.¹¹ that one who is adorable among the adorable, and who, seeing the world sinking in the ocean that is terrible with the crocodile of unceasing birth, out of compassion for it, extracted from the ocean named Veda, by churning it with the churning-stick of his discernment, this nectar (i.e., this work) which is unobtainable by gods."

We know from other sources¹² that this grand-teacher was Gauḍapāda; and since the Veda, like the ocean, is fourfold (consisting, as it does, of the Ṛk, Yajus, Sāman and Atharvan), it is indicated in this stanza that its essence, too, which Gauḍapāda extracted, is a four-sectioned work. In other words, this stanza too indicates that Gauḍapāda was the author, not only of prakaraṇas II-IV, but of the Āgama-prakarana also.

(5) The fact that Śaṅkara regards the prose sentences and also the verses that comprise the Āgama-prakarana as the work of Gauḍapāda, is sufficient by itself to show that he did not regard them as śruti. This is made plain by the word prakaraṇa also which he has used in the sentence *vedāntārtha-sāra-saṁgraha-bhūtam idam prakaraṇa-catuṣṭayam cm-ity-eta-dakṣaram-ity-ādya ārabhyate* which has been cited in (1) above. The significance of this word is well brought out in the following explanation¹³ given by Ānandagiri: "The commentator explains his object with the words *vedānta* . . . Is the work that he is going to comment upon a śāstra or a prakaraṇa? It is not the first: for it does not deal thoroughly with all the matters that appertain to the subject treated of. It deals with one matter only, and is therefore a prakaraṇa."

This discussion about śāstra and prakaraṇa and about the propriety of classifying the work in question under either of these two heads is very significant. It shows unmistakably that the work in question is written by a human author and is not a śruti text. Śruti texts are supreme and stand above all classification; and it would be regarded as sacrilege were one to examine a śruti text and declare in what particulars it satisfied, and in what other particulars it failed to satisfy, the definition of a śāstra or prakaraṇa; ¹⁴ compare the maxim,

¹¹ Or 'great teacher' parama-guru means 'grand-teacher' and also 'great teacher.'

¹² Works like Vidyāraṇya's *Śaṅkara-dig-vijaya*. According to these books, the line of succession is as follows:—Vyāsa, Śuka, Gauḍapāda, Govinda-bhagavat-pāda, Śaṅkara. Each was the immediate teacher of the one next mentioned, and the immediate disciple or pupil of the one previously mentioned. Gauḍapāda was thus the immediate pupil of Śuka, and the immediate teacher of Govinda-bhagavat-pāda. This succession-list seems to me to be dubious; the more so, since, according to the above-named work (5, 94 ff.), Govinda-bhagavatpāda is identical with Patañjali, author of the *Mahābhāṣya*; and hence I do not feel sure that Gauḍapāda was the grand-teacher of Śaṅkara. Prof. Winternitz, on the other hand, has observed (*Geschichte der ind. Litteratur* III, 430, n. 3) that 'the order of succession—Gauḍapāda, Govinda, Śaṅkara—is above suspicion.'

¹³ *kim idam śāstratvena vā prakaraṇatvena vā vyācikyāsitam | nādyah | śāstra-lakṣaṇābhāvād asya aśāstratvāt | eka-prayojanopanibaddham aśeṣārtha-pratipādakam hi śāstram | atra ca mokṣa-lakṣaṇaika-prayojanavattve'pi nīśeṣārtha-pratipādakatvam | na dvitīyah | prakaraṇa-lakṣaṇābhāvād ity aśaṅkyādha vedānteti | śāstram vedānta-śabdārthaḥ | tasyārtha 'dhikāri-nirṇaya-gurūpasādana-pārārtha-dvaya-tadaikya-virodha-porihāra-sādhana-phalākhyaḥ | tatra sāro jīva-paraikyam | tasya samyag-grahāḥ saṁgrahāḥ saṁśaya-viparyāśādi-pratibandha-vyulāsena tad-upāyopadeśo yasmin prakaraṇe tat tatheti yāvat | tathā ca śāstraikaśeṣa-sambaddham śāstra-kāryāntare sthitam idam prakaraṇatvena vyākhyātum iṣtam nirguṇa-vastu-mātra-pratipādakavāt | tat-pratipādana-saṁkṣepasya ca kāryāntara-tvāt prakaraṇatva-lakṣaṇasya cātra sampūrṇatvād ity arthah |*

¹⁴ Nor is it necessary that one should first explain one's reasons in setting forth to write a commentary on a śruti text. As explained by Śāyana at great length in the introduction to his commentary on the *Rgveda-saṁhitā*, it is the duty of every dvija (twice-born one) to learn the Veda with its meaning; and hence one needs no apology for writing a commentary on the Veda.

nīyoga-paryanuyogānarhā bhagavatī śrutiḥ. Śaṅkara, assuredly, would not be guilty of such sacrilege ; and his carefully-chosen words therefore make it plain that the four-sectioned book that he is going to comment upon is not a *śruti* text, but the work of a human author.

Compare in this connection the sentences *tad idaṃ Gītāśāstram samastavedārtha-sāra-saṃgraha-bhūtam* and *vedānta-mīmāṃsā-śāstrasya vyācikhyāsitasyedam ādimam sūtram* that occur in the introductions to Śaṅkara's commentaries on the *Bhagavad-gītā* and *Brahma-sūtras* respectively ; and note the use of the word *śāstra* in both sentences and that both these books are written by human authors (i.e., are not *śruti*). Contrast, on the other hand, the introductions to Śaṅkara's commentaries on the nine 'major' Upaniṣads, and note that in not one of them is the word *śāstra* or *prakaraṇa* used.

It must be observed, however, that Ānandagiri interprets the word *prakaraṇa-catuṣṭayam* in Śaṅkara's above-cited sentence as *prakaraṇa-catuṣṭaya-viśiṣṭam*. That is to say, he dissociates the epithet *om-ity-etad-akṣaram-ity-ādi* (after which, according to him, we have to supply the words *Māṇḍūkyaopaniṣad-ātmakam vākya-dvādaśakam*, or other similar words) from *prakaraṇa-catuṣṭayam* (to which it plainly belongs), and wants us to understand that the discussion about *śāstra* and *prakaraṇa* is concerned with the four sections of Gauḍapāda's *kārikās* and has nothing to do with the Upaniṣad which begins with the words *om ity etad akṣaram*.

But Śaṅkara's words are quite unequivocal, and the word *om-ity-etad-akṣaram-ity-ādi* is plainly an epithet of *prakaraṇa-catuṣṭayam*. If, as Ānandagiri implies, Śaṅkara had used it with reference to the 'Māṇḍūkyaopaniṣad,' he would without doubt have said *om-ity-etad-akṣaram-ity-ādyā Māṇḍūkyaopaniṣad*, as, for instance, has been said by Nārāyaṇāśramin (see below) ; and hence Ānandagiri's explanation is tantamount to saying that Śaṅkara is a clumsy writer and does not know how to write properly.

The fact is, Ānandagiri is one of those that believe (see below) that the Māṇḍūkya is an upaniṣad or *śruti* : and since the above-cited words of Śaṅkara indicate only too plainly that it is not a *śruti*, he tries, by means of the above explanation, to reconcile these words with his belief.

The explanation, however, is patently clumsy and can convince no one ; it only shows up in greater relief the sharp difference between Śaṅkara and Ānandagiri, and also bears testimony that the above-cited words of Śaṅkara indicate unmistakably in the opinion of Ānandagiri too that the work beginning with the words *om ity etad akṣaram* . . . is not *śruti*.

(6) That neither the prose sentences nor the verses that comprise the *Āgama-prakaraṇa* were regarded by Śaṅkara as *śruti* is made plain, further, by some other considerations also that are based on his works, that is, on his commentaries on the nine 'major' Upaniṣads, the *Bhagavad-gītā* and the *Brahmasūtras* : for I follow the general consensus of opinion in believing that these are the only undoubtedly genuine works of Śaṅkara.

(a) In the course of his commentary on the *Brahma-sūtras*, Śaṅkara has had occasion to make hundreds of citations from *śruti* texts including the *Ṛgveda-saṃhitā*, *Taittirīya-saṃhitā*, *Vājasaneyi-saṃhitā*, *Aitareya-brāhmaṇa*, *Śatapatha-brāhmaṇa*, etc., and the upaniṣads. He has made numerous citations especially from the upaniṣads, not only from the 'nine major' ones (i.e., *Īśāvāsyā*, *Kena*, *Kaṭha*, *Praśna*, *Muṇḍaka*, *Taittirīya*, *Aitareya*, *Chândogya* and *Bṛhad-āraṇyaka*), but also from the *Svetāśvatara* and *Kauṣītaki* upaniṣads. Even the *Jābālopaniṣad* is cited by him more than once ; but the *Māṇḍūkya* is not quoted even once, nor is the name *Māṇḍūkya* mentioned by him even once. See in this connection Deussen, *Sechzig Upanishads des Veda* (1905), p. 574 : "It is remarkable that Śaṅkara has not made any use of the *Māṇḍūkya* Upaniṣad in his commentary on the *Brahma-sūtras* ;" see also the index of quotations given at the end of vol. 38. *SBE* (Trans. of Śaṅkara's above-named commentary).

This observation holds good of Śaṅkara's commentaries on the nine 'major' upaniṣads and the Bhagavad-gītā also ; in these commentaries, too, Śaṅkara has quoted freely from the *śruti* texts, especially from the nine 'major' upaniṣads named above, and the Śvetāśvatara and Kauṣītaki upaniṣads. He has not cited even one single passage from the Māṇḍūkya.

The objection that the Māṇḍūkya is a very short upaniṣad dealing only with the letter *om* and its *mātrās*, and that hence there was no occasion in which Śaṅkara could, with propriety, quote passages from this upaniṣad, is not tenable. The Īśāvāsyā Upaniṣad too is almost as short as the Māṇḍūkya : and yet Śaṅkara has cited passages from it on scores of occasions. Similarly, though the Māṇḍūkya deals only with the letter *om* and its *mātrās*, there are occasions when citations from it would be quite apposite. Thus, for instance, in the his commentary on the Vaiśvānarādhikaraṇa (1. 2. 24 f.), Śaṅkara has cited three passages—one from the Chândogya and two from the R̥gveda-saṃhitā, to illustrate his statement that the word *vaiśvānara* is used in the Veda in different senses. Now this word is used in the Māṇḍūkya (3), and there can be no doubt that a citation of this passage would be quite apposite in this connection. Similarly, there are passages in the Chândogya, Bṛhad-āraṇyaka and other major upaniṣads which treat of the letter *om* and with the *jāgrat*, *svapna* and *susupti* conditions, and in explaining which, citations from the Māṇḍūkya would therefore be quite appropriate.

One should contrast with these Śaṅkara's commentary on the Māṇḍūkya and note how he has cited from the Chândogya, Bṛhad-āraṇyaka and other major upaniṣads many passages parallel to those he is explaining.

The fact then that Śaṅkara has not cited any passage from the Māṇḍūkya in his other works or even mentioned the name Māṇḍūkya, shows quite plainly that he did not look upon the Māṇḍūkya as a *śruti* text.

(b) This is shown, further, by a comparison of Śaṅkara's introduction to his commentary on the Māṇḍūkya and GK with the introductions to his commentaries on the nine major upaniṣads. In the case of these upaniṣads, Śaṅkara has, it will be seen, used the words *śrutiḥ*, *upaniṣad*, *mantra* or *brāhmaṇa*¹⁵ and thus indicated that he looked upon these texts as *śruti* ; but there is not one word found, either in the beginning or elsewhere, in his commentary on the Māṇḍūkya and GK that would even remotely indicate that he looked upon it as a *śruti* text.

(c) On the other hand, it is very significant that Śaṅkara has, in the latter, often cited *śruti* texts, not as mere parallel passages, but as authorities for the statements made. Thus, for instance, when explaining the word *ānanda-bhuk* in Māṇḍūkya 5, Śaṅkara writes, *eso'sya parama ānanda iti śruteḥ* ; in explaining *sarveśvaraḥ* in 6, he writes *prāṇa-bandhanam hi somya mana iti śruteḥ* ; in explaining *dakṣiṇākṣi-mukhe viśvo* in GK. 2, he writes, *indho ha vai nāmaṣa yo'yaṃ dakṣiṇe'kṣaṃ puruṣa iti śruteḥ* ; in explaining *sarvaṃ janayati prāṇaś cetonśśaṇ puruṣaḥ pṛthak* in GK 6, he writes, *yathorṇanābhiḥ yathā'gner viṣphaliṅgā ity-ādi-śruteḥ* ; in explaining *ekātma pratyaṃya-sīram* in 7, he writes, *ātmetyevopāsita iti śruteḥ* ; and in explaining *turyaṃ tat sarva-dīk sadā* in GK. 12, he writes, *na hi draṣṭur dīṣṭer viparilopo vidyata iti śruteḥ . . . nānyod ato'sti draṣṭṛ ity-ādi-śruteḥ*.¹⁶ In all these instances, it will be noted, Śaṅkara has cited the respective *śruti* passages as authorities on which are based the statements contained in the Māṇḍūkya and GK. I. If he had regarded these as *śruti*, then these statements

¹⁵ Of these words, *śruti* is a generic name and is synonymous with Veda ; *mantra* and *brāhmaṇa* denote the two subdivisions of the Veda (compare Apastamba-śrauta-sūtra, 24. 1. 31 : *mantra-brāhmaṇayor veda-nāmadheyam*), while the word *upaniṣad* is applied to some select portions of the Veda that deal, not with ritual but with the knowledge of Brahman. That Śaṅkara understood by this word a part of the Veda, is made plain by the discussion in his commentary on *Mundaka* 1.1.5.

¹⁶ The *śruti* passages cited here by Śaṅkara are, respectively, Bṛh. 4. 3. 32 ; Chān. 6. 8. 2 ; Bṛh. 4. 2. 2 ; 1. 4. 10 ; 1. 1. 17 2. 1. 20 1. 1. 7 4. 3. 23 and 3. 8. 11.

themselves would have been authoritative, and there would have been no necessity to establish that they are based on *śruti* texts and are therefore to be accepted.

In the introductory portion of his commentary, when speaking of the *prayojana* (aim), Śaṅkara writes : *advaita-bhāvaḥ prayojanam | dvaita-prapañcasyāvidyā-kṛtatvād vidyayā tad-upaśamaḥ syād iti brahma-vidyā-prakāśanāyāsyārambhaḥ kriyate |* "yatra hi dvaitam iva bhavati," "yatra vānyad iva syāt tatrānyo 'nyat paśyed anyo 'nyad vijānīyāt," "yatra tv asya sarvam ātmaivābhūt tat kena kaṃ paśyet kena kaṃ vijānīyāt" *ity-ādi-śrutiḥ* 'syārthasya siddhiḥ. He says in this passage (1) that the end desired is *advaita* : (2) that *dvaita* (dualism) is the result of *avidyā* or wrong knowledge and disappears in the light of *vidyā* : (3) that the work in question treats of this *vidyā* ; and (4) that, hence, when wrong knowledge and its result *dvaita* disappear, *advaita* will be perceived as said in the *śruti* passages *yatra hi...* and other similar ones. The *śruti* passages cited here by Śaṅkara are Brh. Up. 2. 4. 14 (or 4. 5. 15) ; 4. 3. 31 and 4. 5. 15 ; and the word *advaita* occurs in the continuation of 4. 3. 31 (i.e., in 4. 3. 32).¹⁷

Now, the same thing is said in Māṇḍūkya 12 also ; and the fact that Śaṅkara has not referred to it in this connection shows that he did not look upon it as *śruti*. If he had regarded it as *śruti*, he would surely have mentioned it here and not had recourse to the Brh. Up. for an appropriate *śruti* passage.

Similarly, in the next paragraph but one, Śaṅkara asks himself the question, ' How does the understanding of the syllable *om* lead one to a knowledge of the *ātman* ? ' and answers : ' It is so said in *om ity etat | etad ālambanam, etad vai Satyakāma, om ity ātmānam yuñjīta, om iti Brahma, om-kāra evedaṃ sarvam* and other similar *śruti* texts.'¹⁸ The same thing is said in Māṇḍūkya 1 : *om ity etad akṣaram idaṃ sarvam...* also ; and the fact that Śaṅkara did not include it among those cited shows that he did not regard it as *śruti*.

(d) In the course of his commentary on the Brahma-sūtras, Śaṅkara has had occasion to cite a *kārikā* from the Āgama-prakaraṇa (Vs. 16 : *anādi-māyayā supto yadā jīvaḥ prabudhyate | ajam anidram asvapnam advaitam budhyate tadā*) when explaining 2. 1. 9. He does not say there that it is *śruti*, but introduces it with the words *atroktaṃ vedāntārtha-sampradāya-vidbhīr ācāryaiḥ*, and thus distinctly says that the verse in question was written by a human author. Compare his commentary on 1. 4. 14, where he cites GK. III. 15 (*mṛṇ-loha-visphuliṅgādyaḥ...*), introducing it with the words *tathā ca sampradāya-vido vadanti*. A comparison of the two introductory sentences shows that Śaṅkara made no distinction between the *kārikās* in the first and third prakaraṇas, but looked on both as the work of a human author.¹⁹

II. The considerations set forth above thus make it plain beyond possibility of doubt that Śaṅkara regarded the Māṇḍūkya and the 215 *kārikās* as the work of the same human author. But, it may be objected here, Śaṅkara, after all, is but one of the many

¹⁷ 4. 3. 31-2 read as follows : *yatra vā 'nyad iva syāt tatrānyo 'nyat paśyed anyo 'nyaj jighred anyo 'nyad rassayed anyo 'nyad vaded anyo 'nyac chrṇuyād anyo 'nyan manvītānyo 'nyat sprsed anyo 'nyad vijānīyāt | salila eko draṣṭā 'dvaito bhavaty eṣa brahma-lokaḥ samrāt...* And it is this word *advaita* that has been repeated by Śaṅkara in the sentence *advaita-bhāvaḥ prayojanam* cited above and later on in the sentence *advaitam iti śruti-kṛto viśeṣo na syāt* that occurs in his commentary on GK. I. 3.

¹⁸ The passages cited here are, respectively, Kaṭha 2. 15-17 ; Prasna 5. 2 ; Mahānārāyaṇa 24. 1 ; Taitt. Up. 1. 8. 1 ; and Chān. 2. 23. 4.

¹⁹ The words *atraita ślokaḥ bhavanti* occur four times in the Āgama-prakaraṇa when introducing the *kārikās* ; and Śaṅkara in his commentary too uses the same word (*śloka*) when referring to them. See pp. 25-1, 26-2, and 32-1 (the figures refer to the pages and lines of the commentary in the second Anandāsrama edition of 1900), and compare also his observation *prāṇdi-ślokanāṃ pratyekaṃ padārtha-vyākhyāne...* on p. 88 in connection with some *kārikās* in GK. II. In the commentaries on the nine major upaniṣads, however, Śaṅkara usually paraphrases *śloka* by the word *mantra* ; and the fact that he has not done so even once in his commentary on the Āgama-prakaraṇa is, it seems to me, a further proof that he did not look upon either the Māṇḍūkya or the *kārikās* contained in that prakaraṇa as *śruti*.

commentators on the Māṇḍūkya whom we know of ; and though his testimony deserves credit, it is overwhelmed by that of the other commentators who have all said plainly that the Māṇḍūkya is a *śruti* text (while even Śaṅkara has nowhere said in so many words that the Māṇḍūkya is not a *śruti* text). Thus Madhvācārya writes in the course of his commentary *iti maṇḍūkārāpi san dadarśa Varuṇaḥ śrutim* ; and Kūranārāyaṇa begins his commentary with the words *mumukṣor adhikāriṇo nikhila-kleśa-nivṛtti-pūrvakam paramānandāvāptaye samasta-vyastaprapaṇa-pratipādyā-bhagavad-upāsanām vaktum pravṛtteyam upaniṣad*. Nārāyaṇāśramin too begins his commentary with the following words : *om-ity-etad-akṣaram-idam-sarvam-ity-ādyā Māṇḍūkyopaniṣad catuḥ-khaṇḍā | tāṁ khaṇḍāśaḥ paṭhivā 'traite śloka bhavanīti catuḥ-paryāyair Gaudapādācāryā Nārāyaṇānugraheṇa śloka-racanayā vyācacasire | tena śruti-tad-vyākhyā-ghaṭitam prathamam prakaraṇam śruti-prāyam eva tatra chāndasāndam upaniṣad-vyavahārah pravṛttaḥ | evaṁ tad-vicārātmaka-prakaraṇa-traye 'pi | vedāntārtha-sāra-saṁ-graha-bhūtam idam prakaraṇa-catustayam | ata eva na pṛthak sambandhābhidheya-prayojanāni vaktavyāni* | ²⁰

Similarly, Śaṅkarānanda writes *Māṇḍūkyopaniṣad-vyākhyāṁ kariṣye pada-cāriṇīm* in the beginning of his commentary ; and Ānandagiri himself, in his *ṭīkā* on Śaṅkara's commentary on the Māṇḍūkya, refers to it as upaniṣad or *śruti* on many occasions. Compare, for instance, p. 2, 3 : *Māṇḍūkyopaniṣad-arthāviṣkaraṇa-parān api ślokaṁ* ; 4. 21 : *dvitīyena Māṇḍūkyā-śruti-vyākhyāna-rūpeṇa* ; 12, 1 : *artham upapādyā tasminn arthe śrutim avatārayati..... śrutim vyācāste* ; 12, 9 : *tasyetyādi śrutim avatārya* ; 12, 10 : *bhūtam ity-ādi-śrutim gṛhītvā* ; 22, 1 : *vyākhyāyamāna-śrutau* ; 25, 1 : *ācāryair Māṇḍūkyopaniṣadam paṭhivā*.²¹ Thus these commentators, though belonging to different schools of Vedānta, all agree in saying that the Māṇḍūkya is a *śruti* text ; and the testimony of Śaṅkara, as against that of these other commentators, can be of but little account ; moreover, the archaic style in which the Māṇḍūkya is written resembles closely that of the Chāndogya, Bṛhadāraṇyaka and Kauṣītaki Upaniṣads and shows that the Māṇḍūkyopaniṣad too, is, as indicated by its name, an upaniṣad or *śruti* text.

These objections are very plausible ; but, as regards the latter, it must be observed that not all books written in an archaic style are *śruti* texts. The Caraka-saṁhitā, for instance, that has come down to us and that was edited by Dṛḍhabala (see Winternitz, op. cit. III. 546 and n. 1) still retains abundant traces of the archaic style in which it was originally

²⁰ Catalogue of Sanskrit Manuscripts in Tanjore Sarasvatī Mahāl Library, p. 1054, no. 1556 ; in the third sentence I have corrected the reading *śrutis tad-vyākhyā-* into *śruti-tad-vyākhyā-*. The meaning of this passage is as follows : "The words *om ity etad akṣaram idam sarvam.....* mark the beginning of the Māṇḍūkyopaniṣad which consists of four sections. Reading it in sections, the teacher Gaudapāda, through the favour of Nārāyaṇa, explained it by means of verses which are in four series and are introduced (after each section of the upaniṣad) by the words *atraite śloka bhavanti* 'In this connection are read, the following verses.' Thus, since the first section consisting of the *śruti* and its explanation is preponderatingly *śruti*, the practice grew up among Veda-knowers of calling it 'upaniṣad.' Similarly in the case of the latter three prakaraṇas too that treat of the same matters. This collection of four prakaraṇas is an epitome of the essence of the Vedānta-sāstra. And therefore there is no need to state separately (in words) the object aimed, the subject treated of, and the relation (between the subject and the book)."

²¹ Ānandagiri however is not quite consistent in his views. In the passages just cited, he refers to the Māṇḍūkya as *śruti*, while in his explanation of GK. IV. 1 (cited far above) he holds that the words *om ity etad akṣaram.....* (beginning of the Māṇḍūkya) have been written by the author of GK. IV, that is, that the Māṇḍūkya is the work of a human author.

This inconsistency seems to be due to the fact that Ānandagiri lived in a time when the Māṇḍūkya was regarded as an upaniṣad by every one. This therefore was the view of Ānandagiri also ; but since he undertook the work of writing a *ṭīkā* on Śaṅkara's commentary on that work, in which commentary Śaṅkara has plainly indicated (as we have seen above) that the Māṇḍūkya is not a *śruti* text, his explanations sometimes reflect his own belief, and sometimes that of the *bhāṣyakāra*.

written ; and this book, as we know, is not a *śruti* text at all.²² And, as regards the other commentators referred to above, even the earliest of them is posterior by at least three hundred or four hundred years to Śaṅkara, who is thus the earliest commentator that we know of on the work in question. As such, therefore, his testimony deserves far more credit than that of the other commentators ; and when there is a conflict between the two, we have necessarily to give credence to the former and reject the latter. Now, though it is true that Śaṅkara has nowhere said that the Māndūkya is not *śruti*, he has said that it and the 215 kârikās have been written by the 'great teacher' (*parama-guru*). This statement effectively negatives the idea of the Māndūkya being *śruti*, and it becomes plain that the Māndūkya is not a *śruti* text,²³ but that it forms part of a work, which contains, besides, the 215 kârikās, and which was written by a human author.

In that case, it may be asked, what about the circumstantial account given by Madhva about Varuṇa, in the form of a frog, 'seeing' the Māndūkya ? We answer, it is all pure concoction. The *Harivaṃśa* does not contain the passage cited by Madhva or anything similar to it. Nor is there any possibility of its containing it ; for, apart from other considerations, the Māndūkya was, as set forth above, written by a human author and not " seen " at all by any seer.

The charge has often been brought against Madhvācārya that he is addicted to the fabrication of evidence, and that he very frequently cites passages from books which do not, and did not at any time, exist. Appayya Dikṣita, in his *Madhva-mata-vidhvamsana*, has compiled a small list of such books cited by Madhva which includes *Caturamaṭha*, *Māṭha-kaurṇarava*, *Kauṇḍinya*, *Māṇḍavya*, *Mārkaṇḍavya*, *Maudgalya*, *Paṇḍyōyana*, *Sautrāyana*, *Saukarāyana*, *Kātharāyana*, *Pārāsaryāyana*, *Mādhyamādināyana*, *Kāśārava*, *Kauśāra*, *Kauṣāyana*, *Bṛhad-uddālaka*, *Auddālakāyana*, *Kauśika*, *Sauvarṇya*, *Vatsa-gaṇḍavāna*, *Bhāllaveya*, *Āgriṇeśya*, *Caturveda-śikhā*, *Caturveda-saṃhitā*, *Paramā Śrutiḥ*, *Adhyātma-nārāyaṇa-saṃhitā*, *Brahmavaikarta*, *Bhaviṣyat-parvan*, *Mahā-saṃhitā*, *Māyātānta*, *Brahmatānta*, *Nārāyaṇatānta* and *Puruṣottamatānta*. Similarly, the Viraśaiva writer Nirvāṇa too, when criticising Madhva's views in his commentary on the *Kriyāsāra*, uses the words (p. 24) *sva-vacanaprakāṭita-vaiddika-mārgānanugūṇa-bhāgavatātvenābhimata-sva-kapola-kalpita-vaṇane*, and thus says that Madhva's quotation from the *Bhāgavatātānta* is fabricated by Madhva. His words, *iti tad anadhita-veda-gandha-Bhāllaveya-Kātharāyana-Mātharāyana-śruti-Vyoma-saṃhitādhinaṃ na bhavati | kim tu prasiddha evopaniṣadi* . . . on p. 33 too seem likewise to indicate that he considered mythical the *Kātharāyana-śruti* and the other above-mentioned works cited by Madhva.

The justness of this charge is borne out by Madhva's commentary on the Māndūkya. In this commentary (Kumbakonam edition), Madhva cites passages from *Pādma*, *Bṛhat-saṃhitā*, *Harivaṃśa* (in the plural), *Mahāyoga*, *Vārāha*, *Prakāśikā*, *Mārkaṇḍeya*, *Brahmatarka*, *Gāruḍa*, *Brahmāṇḍa*, *Māhātmya*, *Samkalpa*, *Pratyaya*, *Pratyānārā*, *Mahopaniṣad*, *Prakṣa-śruti* and *Ātma-saṃhitā*, and many other works. Of these, *Mahopaniṣad* is the name of an *upaniṣad* ; *Pādma*, *Gāruḍa*, *Vārāha*, *Mārkaṇḍeya*, *Brahmāṇḍa* and *Harivaṃśa* are the names of well-known Purāṇas, and *Bṛhat-saṃhitā* the name of Varāha-mihira's well-known work. No works are known bearing the names *Prakāśikā*, *Brahmatarka*, *Māhātmya*,

²² It is interesting to note that, like the Māndūkya, the Caraka-saṃhitā too has, at the end of many of its sections (chapters), verses that are introduced by the words *ātraite* or *ātraite śloka bhavanti*. This is the case with Vātsyāyana's *Kāmasūtra* and Kautilya's *Arthasāstra* also, works which were, like the Māndūkya, written in the early centuries of the Christian era.

²³ It is the accepted canon of the Mīmāṃsakas that the sole criterion of whether a text is *śruti* or not, is its being known by the name of *śruti* among the Veda-knowers from time immemorial (*śrutiṭvānāndā-kāla-śiṣṭa-vyavahārah*). Such usage is not seen in the case of the Māndūkya ; for not only was it not known as *śruti* to Śaṅkara, who has commented upon it, but it is actually stated by him that it is the work of a human author.

Samkalpa, *Pratyaya*, *Pratyāhāra*, *Mahāyoga*, *Prakāṣa-śruti* and *Ātma-saṃhitā*. The passages cited by Madhva from the *Harivaṃśa*, *Mahopaniṣad* and *Bṛhat-saṃhitā* are not found in the books mentioned bearing those names, and are evidently fabrications of Madhva. So are, likewise, the citations from *Prakāṣa-śruti* and other mythical books²⁴; and to judge from these, it is also very probable that his citations from the *Pādma*, *Gāruḍa* and other Purāṇas are likewise fabrications.

It is of interest to note in this connection that, according to Madhva, the *Māṇḍūkyaopaniṣad* is in praise of the four-formed Nārāyaṇa, and the four forms praised of Nārāyaṇa, namely, *viśva*, *taijasa*, *prājña* and *turiya* denote, respectively, Gaṇeśa, Indra, Rudra and Nārāyaṇa himself.

III. From the colophon at the end of Śaṅkara's commentary on prakaraṇas II (*iti...Śaṅkara-bhagavataḥ kṛtau Gauḍapādīyāgamaśāstra-bhāṣye*) and IV (*iti...Śaṅkara-bhagavataḥ kṛtau Gauḍapādīyāgamaśāstra-vivarane*), we learn that the work comprising the *Māṇḍūkya* and the 215 kārīkās bore the name of *Āgamaśāstra* and was written by Gaudapāda.²⁵

The title *Āgamaśāstra* means 'the śāstra founded on the āgama,' i.e., Veda, and refers, without doubt, to the upaniṣads, on which, as a matter of fact, the book²⁶ is based. There is hence no doubt that Gaudapāda chose this title for his work in order to show that it was based on the Veda and that it had for its object the establishment of Advaita as the only true doctrine and the refutation of the teachings propounded, on the one hand, by Avaidikas like Buddhists, and on the other hand, by Naiyāyikas, Vaiśeṣikas, Sāṅkhyas and others, who, though acknowledging the authority of the Veda, yet taught doctrines opposed to it.

The word *āgama* in the title *āgama-prakaraṇa*, on the other hand, seems to be used in a two-fold sense; and the *āgama-prakaraṇa* seems to be so called because (1) the teachings contained in it are based on *āgama*, i.e., the upaniṣads, and also (2) because the *prakaraṇa* consists mostly of *āgamas*, i.e., mere propositions or statements that are not accompanied with reasons.

IV. It is this title *Āgama-śāstra*, it seems to me, that has led to Gaudapāda's work being regarded as *śruti*. This happened as early as the middle of the eighth century A.D. : for, as pointed out by Walleiser (*Der Aeltere Vedānta*, pp. 21 ff. : see also Winternitz. *op. cit.* III,

²⁴ The only other alternative is to believe that copies of these works existed in a library to which Madhva had access, that these copies were unique, and that no other writer except Madhva (whether anterior, posterior or contemporary to him) had access to that library. This is impossible, and hence one cannot but conclude that Madhva fabricated evidence on a large scale.

For the rest, it is also most improbable that works could have existed bearing such names as *Samkalpa*, *Pratyaya*, *Pratyāhāra*, *Māhātmya*, *Prakāṣa-śruti*, *Prakāśikā* and other similar names.

It is also most improbable that the *Pādma* contains the passage, *dhyāyan Nārāyaṇam devam pranaṇena samāhūtaḥ | māṇḍuka-rūpi Varuṇas tustāva Harim avyayam* which Madhva cites from it. The story of the *Māṇḍūkya* having been 'seen' by Varuṇa when he had assumed the form of a frog, is, as said above, an invention of Madhva; and the *Padma-purāṇa*, as originally written, cannot therefore know anything about it.

²⁵ This is shown by the words *Gauḍapādīya-bhāṣya āgamaśāstra-vivarane* found in the colophon of the third prakaraṇa also. The colophon at the end of the first prakaraṇa reads (in the above-cited edition) *iti...Śaṅkara-bhagavataḥ kṛtāv āgamaśāstra-vivarane Gauḍapādīya-kārīkā-sahita-Māṇḍūkyaopaniṣad-bhāṣye...*; but there is no doubt that the last of the above-cited words (*Gauḍapādīya*-'') has been added later by some one, in the same way as the headings *atha Māṇḍūkyaopaniṣat* and *Gauḍapādīya-kārīkānām sva-kṛtam avataraṇam* have been added by the editor on pp. 11 and 25.

²⁶ That is, the first prakaraṇa in it (the other three prakaraṇas are mostly argumentative); this is based on *Bṛh. Up.* 2. 1 and 4. 3; *Praśna IV* (see in this connection Śaṅkara's commentaries on these passages), and similar passages in the *Chāndogya* and *Kauṣītaki upaniṣads*. Compare also the numerous references to the upaniṣads in *GK. II-IV* and the expressions *vedānta-niścayaḥ* and *vedāntesu vicakṣaṇaiḥ* in *GK. II. 12, 31*.

431, n. 1), the Buddhist writer Śāntirakṣita²⁷ refers to Gauḍapāda's work as 'upanīṣad-śāstra' and thus seems to have believed that Gauḍapāda's *Āgama-śāstra* as a whole (i.e., all the four sections of it) was an upanīṣad or *śruti* text. This opinion was current among some paṇḍits in the time of Nārāyaṇāśramin²⁸ also, whose words I have cited above; and I remember to have seen a printed edition of the 108 upanīṣads in which it was stated at the end of each prakaraṇa, *iti Māṇḍūkyopaniṣadi prathamam prakaraṇam, dvitīyam prakaraṇam*, etc. Similarly, the four prakaraṇas were treated as four upanīṣads in a manuscript examined by the late Prof. Albrecht Weber who writes,²⁹ "The *Māṇḍūkyopaniṣad* is reckoned as consisting of four Upanīṣads, but only the prose portion of the first of these, which treats of the three and half *mātrās* of the word *om*, is to be looked upon as the real *Māṇḍūkyopaniṣad*, all the rest is the work of Gauḍapāda." The verses cited far above from the *Muktikopaniṣad* too show that the author of that text also regarded the 215 kārīkās as forming part of the *Māṇḍūkyopaniṣad*; for, his statement that 'the *Māṇḍūkyā* alone is enough to lead one to liberation' cannot, obviously, refer to the twelve sentences only of the *Māṇḍūkyā*, but also to the kārīkās³⁰, which prove that *dvaita* is false, and *advaita* alone, real. It is likewise interesting in this connection to note that the editors of the *Brahmasūtra-śāṅkara-bhāṣya* with three commentaries that was published by the Nirṇaya-sāgara Press in 1904 have, on p. 320, said that the kārīkā *mṛ-l-loha-visphuliṅgādyaḥ*... is 'Māṇḍū. 3. 15.'

I do not know when the view began to be current that the prose sentences in Gauḍapāda's *Āgamaśāstra* formed an upanīṣad, and when the name *Māṇḍūkyā*³¹ was applied to them. As we have seen above, this is the view held by Ānandagiri, Nārāyaṇāśramin and other writers of the Advaita school, and also by Raṅgarāmānuja of the Viśiṣṭādvaita school.

The view that the *Māṇḍūkyopaniṣad* comprises not only the twelve prose sentences found in the *Āgama-prakarāṇa*, but the 29 kārīkās also occurring in it, seems to be a still later development. This is the view of Kūranārāyaṇa,³² and perhaps of Doḍḍācārya or Mahācārya also, both of the Viśiṣṭādvaita school³³; and the words of Nārāyaṇāśramin cited above show that he too was aware that some 'Veda-knowers' regarded the whole of the *Āgama-prakarāṇa* as constituting the *Māṇḍūkyopaniṣad*. According to him, this view had its origin in the fact that the *Āgama-prakarāṇa* with its 29 kārīkās is preponderatingly *śruti*, while the opinion that all the four prakaraṇas constituted the upanīṣad, had its origin in the fact that all the 215 kārīkās treat of the same matters as, and are associated with, the *Māṇḍūkyā-śruti*; see note²⁰ above.

²⁷ This writer was born in 705 A.D. and died in 765 A.D. according to the account given in S. C. Vidyābhūṣaṇa's *History of Indian Logic*, p. 323.

²⁸ The exact time in which this author lived is not known; but he mentions Śāṅkara and Ānandagiri, and is therefore later than both.

²⁹ *History of Indian Literature* (translation of John Mann and Theodor Zachariae), 1892, p. 161. In the manuscript in question, the four prakaraṇas of the *Māṇḍūkyā* form the upanīṣads numbered 25-28.

³⁰ Compare in this connection the following observation of Deussen on p. 533 *op. cit.*: "Dass die *Muktikā* von diesen 108 Upanishaden in erster Linie *Māṇḍūkyā* empfiehlt, ist, wenn wir die in der Sammlung einbegriffene kārīkā des Gauḍapāda darunter mitverstehen, von dogmatischem Standpunkte aus begreiflich; beide bieten eine vortreffliche Uebersicht der Vedāntalehre."

³¹ The nearest approach to this name that is met with in the *Carāṇa-vyūha* is *Māṇḍūkeya*; and this is there the name of a *śākhā* of the Ṛgveda.

³² According to Madhva, the prose sentences only constitute the *Māṇḍūkyopaniṣad*; but the 29 kārīkās in the *Āgama-prakarāṇa* too, though not forming part of the upanīṣad, are *śruti*; they were 'seen' by Brahmā originally, and Varuṇa, when he 'saw' the *Māṇḍūkyā*, added the kārīkās after the various *khaṇḍas* of the *Māṇḍūkyā*. Compare the stanzas, *pramāṇasya pramāṇam ced balavad vidyate mune | Brahma-dṛṣṭāto mantrān pramāṇam salileśvaraḥ | atra ślokā bhavanīti cakāraiva prthak prthak ||* 'cited' by Madhva from the *Gāruḍa* in his commentary on the *Māṇḍūkyā*.

³³ See Mr. B. N. Krishnamurti Sarma in *Review of Philosophy and Religion*, 2, 55-6.

It is hinted by Nārāyaṇāśramin in his above-cited words that the epithet *om-ity-etad-akṣaram-ity-ādi* in Śaṅkara's observation (*vedāntārtha-sāra-saṃgraha-bhūtam idaṃ prakaraṇa-catuṣṭayam om-ity-etad-akṣaram-ity-ādy ārabhyate*) at the beginning of his commentary refers really to the Māṇḍūkyaopaniṣad and should not be construed with *prakaraṇa-catuṣṭayam*, which, as also the word *vedāntārtha-sāra-saṃgraha-bhūtam*, refers to the four sections of Gauḍapāda's kārīkās. This interpretation is, as already pointed out above, quite untenable. In addition, it may be observed that, in case Nārāyaṇāśramin's (and Ānandagiri's) view is correct, there would be no necessity at all for Śaṅkara to discuss about *śāstra* and *prakaraṇa* in the beginning of his commentary. It would have been enough if Śaṅkara had made the usual observations (compare the introduction to his commentary on the Kāthopaniṣad) about the meaning of the word *upaniṣad*; and since the four sections of the kārīkās form an appendix to the *upaniṣad*, there would be no necessity to discuss anywhere about *śāstra* and *prakaraṇa*. Moreover, one finds it difficult to believe, as Nārāyaṇāśramin and Ānandagiri ask one to do, that Gauḍapāda began his work baldly and strangely, with the words *atraitē ślokā bhavanti*. No one has ever begun a book in this manner, and it is certain that Gauḍapāda too would not.

V. It is, as already observed above, very doubtful if Gauḍapāda, author of the *Āgama-śāstra*, was the grand-teacher of Śaṅkara. In his commentary on GK. I, 9, and I, 12, Śaṅkara gives alternative explanations of pādas *ed* and the word *sarva-dīk* respectively; this hardly seems consistent in one who was a grand-pupil of the author, and indicates, on the other hand, that there was a fairly long interval between the writing of the book and of the commentary. Similarly, Professors Belvalkar and Ranade too have observed on p. 96 of their *History of Philosophy* (vol. 2): "The Kārīkās have been actually quoted by several early Buddhist commentators of the Mādhyamika school, and dates make it impossible that they should have been produced by a teacher's teacher of a writer of the eighth century, as Śaṅkarācārya is usually taken to be." Dr. Walleser, too, similarly opines (*op. cit.*, p. 5 ff.) that the Kārīkās were written in about 550 A.D. which also makes it improbable that their author Gauḍapāda was the grand-teacher of Śaṅkara.

Dr. Walleser has also expressed (l.c.) the opinion that Gauḍapāda is not the name of a man, but is the designation of a school, and that the Kārīkās are the work of this school. This opinion seems to be endorsed by Professors Belvalkar and Ranade also who observe (l.c.); "Further, seeing that even the author of the *Naiṣkarmyasiddhi*, Sureśvarācārya, refers to these Kārīkās as expressing the views of the Gauḍas as contrasted with the views of the *Drāviḍas* (*Naiṣ. IV*, 41 ff.), a doubt can be, and has been, legitimately expressed as to the authenticity of the tradition which makes an author by name Gauḍapāda (the pupil of Śuka and the teacher's teacher of the great Śaṅkarācārya) responsible for these so-called 'Māṇḍūkya Kārīkās.'"

This view is based on a misapprehension of *Naiṣkarmyasiddhi*, IV, 41-44, which reads as follows:

kārya-kāraṇa-baddhau tāv iṣyete viśva-taijasau |
prājñāḥ kāraṇa-baddhas tu dvau tau turye na sidhyataḥ || 41 ||
anyathā gṛhṇataḥ svapno nīdrā tattvam ajānataḥ |
viparyāse tayoh kṣiṇe turiyaṃ padam āśnute || 42 ||
tathā Bhagavatpādīyaṃ udāharaṇam :
suṣuptākhyam tamojñānam bījaṃ svapna-prabodhayoh |
ātma-bodha-pradagdham syād bījaṃ dagdham yathābhavam || 43 ||
evam Gauḍair Drāviḍair naḥ pūjyair ayam arthaḥ prakāśitaḥ |

As explained by the commentator Jñānottama, the first two of the above-cited stanzas are from the Gauḍapāda-kārīkās (I. 11; 15) and the third from Bhagavatpāda's (i.e., Śaṅkara's) *Upadeśasahasrī* (17. 26 of the metrical version); and hence the words *Gauḍair* and

Drāviḍaiḥ do not mean 'by the Gauḍa people and Drāviḍa people' but 'by the Gauḍa teacher and Drāviḍa teacher,' i.e., 'by Gauḍapāda and Śaṅkara.' The meaning of stanza 44ab, therefore is, "This has been thus explained by our revered teachers, Gauḍa[-pāda] and Śaṅkara"; and there is no mention in this stanza of the Gauḍa people and the Drāviḍa people.³⁴

For the rest, it also becomes plain from the *Bṛhadāraṇyakopaniṣad-bhāṣya-vārtika* of the same author, namely, Suresvara, that he knew well that the Gauḍapāda-kārikās were written by the teacher named Gauḍapāda. See, for instance, 1. 4. 389 (p. 510): *anīcitā yathā rajjur iti nyāyopabṛ̥ṃhitam | sphuṭārtham Gauḍapādīyaṃ vaco 'rthe 'traiva gīyate ||*; 2. 1. 386 (p. 951): *niḥśeṣa-veda-siddhānta-vidvadbhir api bhāṣitam | Gauḍācāryair idam vastu yathā 'smābhīḥ prapañcitam ||*; and 4. 4. 886 (p. 1866): *ślokaṃś ca Gauḍapādāder yathoktārthasya sāksinaḥ | adhīyate 'tra yatnena sampradāya-vidāḥ svayam*. The second of the stanzas cited here shows that -pāda in Gauḍapāda is added only for the sake of respect (compare the words *bhagavat-pāda*, *ācārya-pāda*, *pūjya-pāda*, *pitṛ-pāda*, etc.), and that the real name is Gauḍa only. It is very probable that this was not originally a personal name but was an epithet applied to the teacher in order to distinguish him from other teachers, and that, in course of time, it wholly supplanted his personal name. *Naiṣkarmyasiddhi*, IV. 44, cited above affords another instance of this word Gauḍa being used as a personal name.

VI. There is thus not the least doubt that there existed a teacher known as Gauḍapāda, and that he produced the work known as *Āgamaśāstra*. As observed above, this work is a whole, conceived and executed on a well-arranged plan. It is the purpose of the work to establish the reality of Advaita; and this it effectively accomplishes, positively, by showing in the first prakaraṇa, that the *ātman* in the *turiya* condition, when the world has disappeared, is identical with Brahman, and, negatively, by showing, in the last three prakaraṇas, that Dvaita is unreal.

This work is thus the earliest systematical work on Vedānta that has come down to us. And it says much for the genius of Gauḍapāda that he should have picked out, from the heterogeneous mass of teachings contained in the upaniṣads, that about the *jāgrat*, *svapna*, and *susupti* conditions, as the one that would directly prove the truth of Advaita, given it clear-cut shape in the *Āgama-prakaraṇa*, and made it the corner-stone of his system of Vedānta.

The value of this achievement is by no means lessened even if Gauḍapāda borrowed some theories, arguments, stanzas and even passages from various other writers; for, after all, it is his genius that has bound all these diverse elements into a single whole.

It follows from this that the writers who have interpreted passages from Gauḍapāda's work in a non-Advaitic sense are merely deluding themselves and are in the wrong; for, it must be remembered that, in case the passages in question have been borrowed by Gauḍapāda, whatever their original meaning may have been, they are interpreted by Gauḍapāda in an Advaitic sense, and used by him to support his exposition of the Advaita philosophy.

The *Āgamaśāstra* contains, as already pointed out by Deussen (*op. cit.*, p. 574), all the essential teachings (*māyā-vāda*, *ajāti-vāda*, *raju-sarpa-dṛṣṭānta*, etc.) of the Advaita system. Śaṅkara³⁵ has but elaborated and systematised these teachings, in the same way as Plato did those of Parmenides; and Deussen's comparison of Gauḍapāda and Śaṅkara with Parmenides and Plato is, now that we know that the Māṇḍūkya too is the work of Gauḍapāda, true to a greater extent than was thought of by him.³⁶

³⁴ *naḥ pūjyair Gauḍair Drāviḍaiḥ* is equivalent to *naḥ pūjyair Gauḍācāryair Drāviḍācāryaiḥ*; the plural here is honorific.

³⁵ And it is perhaps this fact that gave rise to the tradition that Śaṅkara was the grand-pupil of Gauḍapāda.

³⁶ Lately, there have been published by Mr. B. N. Krishnamurti Sarma two articles entitled 'New Light on the Gauḍapāda Kārikās' and 'Further Light on the Gauḍapāda Kārikās' in the *Review of Philosophy and Religion* (2, 35 ff.; and 3, 45 ff.) in which he has endeavoured to show that (not only the Māṇḍūkya but) the 29 kārikās also of the *Āgama-prakaraṇa* were regarded as *śruti* by not only Madhva and Kūṇḍarāyaṇa, but by Śaṅkara himself, and also by Ānandagiri, Suresvara, Madhusūdana Sarasvatī and other advaitin writers. I shall therefore review on another occasion the arguments employed there by Mr. Sarma.

KĀSHMĪRĪ PROVERBS.

BY PANDIT ANAND KOUL, ŚRĪNAGAR, KASHMĪR.

(Continued from page 76 supra.)

Athaci ungaji pānts che na āsān hishey.

The five fingers of the hand are not all equal.

(Used as meaning that all people are not alike, or that all do not attain the same rank in life.)

*Bhaṭṭa chu baṭlohiy zāts ;**Jaldai tatān tah jaldai tūrān.*

A paṇḍit is of the nature of a brass vessel,

[Which] quickly gets hot and quickly gets cold.

(This is said with the meaning that a paṇḍit spends his money, when he gets it, too quickly, so that he soon comes to penury : this is regarded as a characteristic of the paṇḍit class.)

“ *Bhutrāts māj ! gub kus ?* ”“ *Yus buh chalnay bhata khiyi ;**Brānda peṭha muthar kari ;**Dohali nendar kari ;**Graṭṭa tala oṭ khiyi.* ”

“ Mother Earth ! who is heavy ? ”

“ He who eats food without washing his face [is dirty] ;

[He who] urinates at the door-step [is lazy] ;

He who sleeps during the daytime [is slothful] ;

He who eats flour from the millstone [is greedy]. ”

Dāri kin anz tsāmūt, tonti kēt masāla phūṭaj hēt.

A grey goose flying in by the window, carrying in his bill a packet of spices (for use when it is killed and cooked).

(Said of a desire unexpectedly fulfilled.)

Ḍūmb Dēlinyuk Jāmbāzporyuk tāwāndār.

The Ḍūmb of Dēlina amerced for Jāmbāzpura.

(Said of an innocent person involved in trouble instead of another who is really guilty. Dēlina and Jāmbāzpura are two villages in the Bāramula Tahsil, five miles apart.)

*Gagur pakān hul hul,**Par panani vāj kun syud.*

The rat runs in a zigzag course,

Yet straight towards its own hole.

(Said of a person who looks a simpleton, but is very careful where his own interests are concerned.)

*Goras āyov nāyid zangi :**Dupnas ; “ Buh ti be-mūlay tsa ti be-mūlay.”*

A barber came across a priest ;

The latter said : “ I carry on business without capital ; thou too art conducting business without capital (i.e., we are both equal).

Gor divān wuḍi ta wachas

Kāmbari-pachas drāv na keñh.

The priest is beating his head and breast

[Because] the fortnight of *śrāddha* did not last long.

(Referring to the first half of the month of Asoj, when Hindus make offerings to the priests in the name of their ancestors.)

Kānsēn zīṭhi ta zīṭhen kānsi gatsan āsani.

The young should have the elders, and the elders the young.

(Such a combination means happiness.)

Kashīr chē par-dwārac.

Kashmir is for outsiders.

(Outsiders have always exploited Kashmir, as its history shows. Its own inhabitants have ever been sadly neglected by unsympathetic foreigners.)

Kāv ai chēlzēn sazi sābaney,

Kāvas krañhnēl tsali na zāh.

Aslas tah kamīnas khislal naney

Hūni luṭ kandilas gond bani na zāh.

If a crow be washed even with vegetable soap,

Its black colour will never be removed from the crow.

The noble and the mean will disclose their intrinsic natures ;

A dog's tail can never change into a crest by being kept in a case.

Lūc kani chē baji kani tal vēpān.

A small stone fits in beneath a large stone (and then the latter becomes well laid).

(This is used as meaning, e.g., that an officer cannot work properly without the help of his subordinates.)

“ *Mājiy ! mām hai oy.* ”

“ *Myon, hov putra, boi.* ”

“ Mother ! my maternal uncle has come. ”

“ Yes, son, my brother. ”

Muth myūṭh kaṭas ;

Sas myūṭh Bhaṭṭas ;

Nēndar mīṭh drālid-kaṭas.

Beans are sweet to a ram ;

Pulse is sweet to a *paṇḍit* ,

Sleep is sweet to a lazy young man.

Nagara nīrit Pāndrenṭhan.

Going out of the city to Pāndrenṭhan.

(Said of going a very short distance, as Pāndrenṭhan is quite close to Śrīnagar.

The saying, however, can also be interpreted as meaning : Without leaving home, know thyself, i.e., be religious and pious without making any show.)

Fints-kāni dapān Wulur pāzah.

A finch boasts of draining the Wular Lake. (Said of a vain boast.)

Pitari gay mitsari-kandī—atsana báz rozan na ;

Pitareni gayi martea-pîpini—natsana báz rozan na.

The male collaterals are like thorns : they will but prick (i.e., cause harm).

The female collaterals are like tops ; they will but dance (i.e., mock). (Collaterals are often envious of one another.)

Qarzan chu âb-i-hayât comut.

Debt has drunk the water of immortality.

(A debt must be paid sooner or later ; it remains a debt till repaid.)

Qarzun larza.

Oh, the terror of debt ! (Beware of contracting debt. Cf. *Gulistân*, chap. III, tale 9 :—

بتمناي گوشت مُردن بر کم نقاضاي زِشتِ قصابان

“ It is better to die for want of meat than to endure the rude importunities of the butcher.”)

Shuri kor kâv kâv ; bab vëthëv.

Baban kur kâv kâv ; shuri dup bab matëv.

The child cried ‘ Caw, caw ’ ; the father was delighted.

The father cried ‘ Caw, caw ’ ; the child said his father had gone mad.

Trakar chë na kânsi hanz mäs zi päs karës.

A scale is nobody’s maternal aunt, that it should be prejudiced in weighing.

Trats trits ta tre pañtshîy.

Slowly, slowly, and three *pañtshîy* earned.

(Slow and scanty earnings. *Pañtshîy* is the plural of *pûntshu*, which is equal to 2 *bhaganis*, or 16 *kaurîs*).

Wodapuryuk begharaz.

An apathetic [person] from Wodapur.

(Used of a person who takes no interest in anything. Wodapur is a village in the Uttarmachipura Tahsîl, the inhabitants of which are famed as being too simple to take an interest in anything.)

Wâgâmyuk Gopâl.

Gopâl of Wâgâm.

(Said of a very familiar person. Wâgâm is a village in the Śrî Pratâp Singhpora Tahsîl, where lived a man named Gopâl, who used to visit everybody, generally uninvited.)

Yâtay na pakay : nâtay takay.

At one time I would not walk ; now, on the contrary, I would run.

(Said of a lazy person, who has suddenly become excessively active.)

Yusuy swâd phalis suy chu gurnas.

The same taste is in one [grape] as in a bunch [of grapes].

Zâr gav khwar.

Gambling is ruinous.

Zar taşadduq-i-sar.

Wealth is meant for one’s enjoyment.

Ani hanza kori sat.

The seven daughters of the blind woman.

Note.—A blind woman beggar gave birth to seven daughters, and with the birth of each daughter she began to get more alms. (Cf. the English proverb, 'Give and spend, and God will send.')

Bhaṭṭa chuy gūli-kulsur, kanji pānas ta goji lākan.

The *paṇḍit* is [like] a man cutting out kernels from water-chestnuts—the shells [he keeps] for himself, and the kernels [he sells] to the people.

(A *paṇḍit* is unselfish.)

Dharmas karēn tsoci.

He changed his religion into bread.

(Said of an irreligious, worldly man.)

Dosi pethi taka-tak.

To run a race on the top of a wall.

(A hazardous attempt.)

Dumaṭṭas rinz lāyin.

To shoot pellets on to a dome.

Cf. *Gulistān*, Ch. I:—

پونو نیکان نه گیرد هر کم بنیادش بد است
قریبت نا اهل را چون گردگان برگنبد است

“A person having an evil origin shall not receive the enlightenment of the good ; To educate the worthless is like throwing balls upon a dome ” (they will always roll down again).

Kali-yoga-ci baji-māji.

Elderly mothers of the *Kaliyuga*.

(Said of young girls who have become mistresses of houses.)

Kanawāji ṭhas gav.

Yasi gav tasi gav.

The sound of an ear-ring [falling down] occurred.

It occurred to whomsoever it did occur.

Keñh na khuta chu keñtshāyi jān.

Something is better than nothing.

Kritsa kori baji-māji ta phoka-nēciv muqaddam.

Lasses collecting *krits* (a kind of yam, *Dioscorea deltoidea*) have become mistresses of houses, and simple lads, village headmen.

Māji māsi ta kori kus kāsī ?

To the mother [and] to the maternal aunt [it has happened thus], so who can prevent it [from happening] to the daughter ?

Māli sozayi kori progas dār kāsīt :

tamisanzi hashi dupas dār yiyas bēyi ;

kār kāsīt suzna zi bēyi yiyas na.

A father shaved his beard [and] sent it to his daughter as a present in place of money on the occasion of a festival : her mother-in-law remarked that he would grow

his beard all right again ; he did not cut and send his own head, lest he might not get another.

Note.—Hindu mothers-in-law were very exacting in taking customary money presents on the occasions of different festivals from their daughters-in-law's parents. These presents have now been greatly curtailed, thanks to the efforts of social reformers.

Mě chě pananěn māsān hanz khabaray.

I am fully acquainted with my maternal aunts (i.e., you need not trouble to give me any description of them).

Mītras gatshī tasund aib buthīs pēḷ wanun.

A friend should be told his faults to his face.

Mītr lāgit shatru.

An enemy in the guise of a friend. (Cf. 'A wolf in lamb's skin.'

Cf. also "Evil-doer behind your back,

Sweet-tongued in your presence ;

Give up a friend of this ilk

As a pot of poison concealed by milk.")

Or mā gatsh yūri wola

Do not go there, come here.

(Said of attracting the rabble.)

Rupayī nishiy chē wātān rupay.

A rupee comes to a rupee. (Cf. the English proverb, 'Money begets money.')

Note.—A simpleton heard this proverb and thought that if he had a single rupee he could amass a fortune easily. He got one and went to a banker's shop. The banker had at that time a heap of rupees, which he was busily counting. There was a small hole in one of the walls of the shop. The simpleton hid himself behind this wall and thrust his rupee through the hole towards the banker's money, thinking that, by doing so, the rupees in the heap would be drawn towards his, and he would take them away. But his rupee accidentally slipped from his fingers and got mixed with the banker's money. Now the simpleton began to cry at the loss of his rupee. People collected and inquired the cause of his distress. He explained the whole thing to them. They smiled at his simplicity and told him that the proverb was true enough. Instead of the banker's rupees coming towards his rupee, his went to them, and so the proverb was fulfilled.

Saif-Ullah Mirāni safar.

Saif-Ullah Mīr's [long account of his] travels.

(Used in reference to long and tedious descriptions, e.g., of a man's troubles and woes.)

Thak gav zi phak gav.

Stopped and stagnated.

(E.g., always taking out of the purse and never putting in soon empties it.)

Tshotun tsāv zi hotsun āv.

Exhaustion came and putrefaction set in.

(Said, e.g., when a man's income begins to decrease and he becomes involved in difficulties.)

Yá zarav nata birav

Either suffer or else get away.

(Cf. the English proverb, 'What cannot be cured must be endured.')

Yithi píra khota chu be-píray jân.

It is better to be without a priest than with such a priest.

(Bad principle is worse than no principle.)

Zyúth gav byúth.

Too lengthy results in a dead stop.

(Cf. the British proverb, 'Too much is stark naught.')

MISCELLANEA

INDIA AND THE EAST IN CURRENT LITERATURE.

Acta Orientalia, XI, Pt. III (1933).—In this issue M. Mironov continues his interesting notes on Aryan Vestiges in the Near East of the 2nd Millenary B.C., dealing with names of persons, gods and places found in the Amarna letters (Palestine and Syria, 1380-1350 B.C.), and among the Mitanni (1475-1280 B.C.) and the Hittites (1400-1280 B.C.), and adding linguistic remarks on the phonology and morphology of the names, many of which have a special interest for Indian readers. Some guarded observations are made on the evidence revealed by this material. M. Mironov regards the Indian character of the numerals noted in the Hittite documents as obvious, and he points out that it seems possible to assign the forms to a particular stage of development of the Indian language, the date of those documents being known with fair precision (viz., not later than 1200 B.C.). Though the material be too scanty to permit of definite conclusions, he considers the forms "may be assigned to the language of the Veda, but they do not seem to be archaic, i.e., to belong to the oldest strata of the Vedic language." He is led to the view that the facts seem to corroborate the conclusion drawn by Sten Konow from the (supposed) fact of the Ásvins being mentioned in the Boghazkeui documents as groomsmen, that the extension of Indo-Aryan civilization into Mesopotamia took place after the bulk of the Ṛgveda had come into existence, and the oldest portions of that collection should accordingly be regarded as considerably older than the Mitanni treaty.

In the same issue Prof. Rapson replies to the arguments of Prof. Lüders (*Ib.*, X, pp. 118-125) regarding the date in the inscription on the Amohini Tablet at Mathurâ, and gives some additional reasons in support of his view that the decimal figure in the date is 40, and not 70 as Prof. Lüders thinks.

Acta Orientalia, XI, Pt. IV (1933) contains a paper by I. Scheftelowitz on 'The Mithra Religion of the

Indo-Scythians and its Connection with the Saura and Mithra Cults,' in which he sets forth in considerable detail the numerous analogies between the cult as originally practised by the Śakas and as introduced into India, and quotes many references that throw light upon the spread and development of the cult in India and the effects of Brāhmaṇical influences. Many aspects of this interesting subject, which had been so succinctly and ably outlined in Pt. II, Chap. xvi, of the late Sir R. G. Bhandarkar's *Vaiṣṇavism, Śaivism, etc.* (*Grundriss* series) will be found to be elaborated in this paper. The difficult question of the period at which the cult was actually started in India remains, however, to be definitely solved.

Zeitschrift der D.M.G. (N. S. XI, Pts. 1 and 2), 1932.—In a paper entitled 'War Marco Polo auf dem Pamir,' W. Lentz states his reasons for holding that Marco Polo did not cross the Pāmirs, as hitherto generally accepted (e.g., by Yule, Cordier, Stein and others), but, having reached Ishkashm, he turned north by the valley of the Ab-i-Panja as far as the Wanj valley, and ascending it and crossing the Akbai Sitargi entered the Khingâb valley, whence he passed over the Gardani Kaftar into the Alai valley, which he followed, in a more or less easterly direction, and so on to Kāshgar. He holds with Benedetto, that Scasem, and not Casem, is the correct reading, and that M's town was Ishkashm, and not Kishm. Marco's Vocan (one MS. reads Voca), hitherto always equated with Wakhân, he locates in the Khingâb valley, to portions of which we find the name Wakhiâ ('upper' and 'lower') locally applied, according to Stein (*Innermost Asia*, II, 890). Suffice it to add here that, while the suggested route is attractive as being less perilous, there are many objections to accepting this as the route described in Marco's narrative, even as it appears in Benedetto's revised text.

C. E. A. W. O.

BOOK-NOTICES

MAHĀRĀNĀ KUMBHA : SOVEREIGN, SOLDIER, SCHOLAR, by HARBILAS SARDA, M.L.A. Second Edition, 1932, pp. xxvi + 234. Vedic Yantrālaya, Ajmer.

The first edition of *Mahārānā Kumbha* by Mr. Harbilas Sardā was published in 1917, and was welcomed by all students of Rājput History as a work of absorbing interest. The book has now been re-written and enlarged into the present edition, so much so that it is practically a new work.

The book is divided into sixteen chapters. The first three deal with the "Guhilot Family of Mewar," "Rana Kshetra Singh and Laksh Singh" and "Mahārānā Mokāl." The next eight chapters discuss the history of the reign of the illustrious Mahārānā Kumbha of Mewar. Chapter XII sets forth the achievements of the Mahārānā, while Chapter XIII describes Kumbha's monuments. In Chapters XIV and XVI, the author has estimated the position of Kumbha respectively as a scholar and as a sovereign. Chapter XV gives a summary of nineteen of the more important inscriptions of the time of the Mahārānā, along with a short note on the coins issued by this ruler. A valuable appendix is added, which not only gives the text of seven of the inscriptions of Kumbha, but also quotes an interesting passage from the famous *Ekaliṅga-māhātmya*. Not the least important feature of the book is the Index, which the first edition sadly lacked. It is by no means free from foibles and inaccuracies, some of which we will notice shortly, but it cannot be denied that, taken as a whole, the book is a scholarly production, is written in such a style that it reads like a novel and is much more of a history than a compilation of history of which we have recently more than one instance, so far at any rate as Rājputānā is concerned.

Another interesting feature of the book is the way in which the author has tried to prove the partial and untrustworthy nature of the accounts of some Muhammadan historians, especially of Firishṭa, which is chiefly relied upon by European scholars. The author has impartially shown that Firishṭa has, in instances more than one, either remained silent about or slurred over the defeat of a Muhammadan king by a Hindu ruler. But we regret to note that the pleasure from the perusal of the book is somewhat marred by the numerous misprints, and the general absence, and, in a few cases, the improper use, of diacritical marks. We also regret that some of the views of the author cannot be acceptable. Thus, following an impossible theory about the "Krita-Gupta Eras," Mr. Sardā has placed the date of Mihirakula's battle

with Bālāditya in "about 131 A.D." (p. 54)! We are also unable to accept his view that "Prithvirāj, king of Ajmer, ruled the whole of Northern India" (p. 82) or that the Chauhān king Visaladeva, uncle of Prithvirāja, "conquered the whole of upper India" (p. 196).

Mr. Sardā does not believe that the "chivalrous" Rāo Rāymāl entertained any idea of appropriating the throne of Chitor (p. 61). Yet he speaks of the brutal murder of Rāghavadeva who was "loved throughout Mewar for his high character, courage, manly beauty and patriotism" (p. 41), and also refers to the gradual rise of the Rāthod nobles, to whom "all positions of confidence and trust as well as those of political and military importance were bestowed" (p. 59).

In spite of these differences of opinion which are by no means of a serious nature, we have no doubt that it is a work worthy of a scholar and that it will be read with much interest and profit by a layman also. We hope that, like Hemādri during the time of the Yādavas of Devagiri, or Sāyaṇa during the Vijayanagara rule, Mr. Sardā will find time to write more books of this nature.

D. R. B.

GAṆGĀ-PURĀTATTVAṆKA. 9½ × 7½ in.; 337 pages. Published from the *Gaṇḡā* Office, Kṛṣṇagarh, Sultān-ganj, dt. Bhāgalpur, 1933. Rs. 3.

Kumār Kṛṣṇānanda Sīmha of Banaili and the editorial staff of the new Hindi illustrated monthly magazine *Gaṇḡā* are to be congratulated on the enterprise and success shown in the publication of this special archæological number of their journal, which contains a large number of instructive papers dealing with various aspects of ancient and medieval Indian history and culture, including archæology, epigraphy, numismatics, linguistics, scripts and painting, etc. We find here papers by some of the most distinguished Indian scholars of the present day, such as Rao Bahadur S. K. Aiyangar, Rai Bahadur Hīrālāl, Dr. Hīrānanda Śāstri, Mr. K. P. Jayaswal, Dr. N. N. Law and many other well-known names. Some of the articles furnish useful summaries of the far-reaching results of the explorations carried out in recent times at Mohenjodāro, Nālandā, Basārḥ, Pahārpur and other sites; others describe archæological treasures preserved in some of the principal museums, while a few are of a more speculative character. Many of the papers are illustrated. The volume provides in a handy form a mass of information for the Hindi-reading public, not otherwise readily available to them in that language.

C. E. A. W. O.

FURTHER LIGHT ON RÂMAGUPTA.

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IN his interesting article on 'A new Gupta King,'¹ Professor A. S. Altekar has cited and discussed the following passage from the *Kāvyamīmāṃsā* of Rājasekhara—

दत्त्वा रुद्धगतिः खसाधिपतये देवीं भुवस्वामिनीं
यस्मात्खण्डितसाहसो निववृत्ते श्रीशर्मे (व l. सेन) गुप्तो नृपः ।
तस्मिन्नेव हिमालये गुरुगुहाकोणकण्टिकन्तरे
गीयन्ते तव कार्तिकेय ! नगरास्त्रीणां गणैः कीर्तयः ॥

In discussing the bearing of this passage on his reconstruction of Gupta history he has remarked as follows :—"The verse is addressed to Kārtikeya, who is obviously Kumāragupta I of the Gupta dynasty. Kumāra and Kārtikeya are synonyms ; peacock is the *vāhana* of the deity and we know that Kumāragupta has struck some coins of the peacock variety. The unknown poet of this stanza is contrasting the prosperous condition of the house under Kumāragupta with the dire distress to which it was reduced under Śarmagupta."² As the version of the incident given in this verse differs in some material points from the account of the same found in the works of Bāṇa, Viśākhadatta and Śankarārya, Prof. Altekar is constrained to add as follows³ :—"Unfortunately we do not know who the author of this verse was, when he flourished and whether he had any reliable historic tradition to rely upon," and, again, "it is not therefore unlikely that with a desire of having a romantic background and developing a poetic contrast, he may have permitted himself a little liberty with history by changing the name Śaka into Khasa."

These two statements involve a contradiction which Prof. Altekar has failed to notice. The verse cited above was evidently composed by some poet who was a contemporary of Kārtikeya, who is addressed⁴ and whose exploits are praised therein. If this Kārtikeya was Kumāragupta I, his court poet had undoubtedly "reliable historical tradition to rely upon." We must, therefore, suppose that he wilfully took a liberty with history and that his contemporaries had so completely forgotten the incident in Rāmāgupta's life within the short period of one generation that they allowed the poet to do so. Such a supposition is, however, unwarranted. If we read the verse carefully, we would find that the king Kārtikeya who is eulogised therein must have belonged to some other dynasty. No court poet of the Guptas would have thought of making such a contrast, and thereby focussing people's attention on that deplorable incident. As in the Sanjāna Plates, the author of this verse is evidently referring to some king of another dynasty who achieved glorious success where Rāmāgupta ignominiously failed. Who then is this Kārtikeya ? No early king of this name is known to history. The *Caṇḍakauśika* of Aryakṣemīśvar, which was staged before a king named Mahāpāla, mentions his other name as Kārtikeya in the Bharatavākya.⁵

¹ JBORS., XIV, part II, p. 223.

² *Ibid.*, p. 242.

³ *Ibid.*, p. 243.

⁴ Dr. D. R. Bhandarkar, who has discussed this question in the *Malaviya Commemoration Volume* (p. 194) takes कार्तिकेयनगर as one word and locates it near the village Baijnāth in the Almora district, U.P. According to him the verse is addressed to Candragupta, who is not named therein. This is hardly convincing. We must remember that Rājasekhara has cited the verse as a type of *muktaka*, which means a detached stanza, complete in itself. When such stanzas are addressed to kings, their names are invariably inserted in them. (See, for instance, the 194 stanzas in praise of various kings collected in the *subhāṣitaratna-bhāṇḍāgāra*, Nirṇaya Sāgar Ed., pp. 118-128). We must, therefore, take Kārtikeya as vocative and try to locate the scene of the event in some other way.

⁵ येनादिश्य प्रयोगं घनपुलकभृता नाटकस्यास्य हर्षाद्
वस्त्रालङ्कारहेम्नां प्रतिदिनमकृशा राशयः सम्प्रदत्ताः ।
तस्य क्षत्रप्रभृतेर्भ्रमस्तु जगदिदं कार्तिकेयस्य कीर्तिः
पारे क्षीराख्यसिन्धोर्गपि कवियशसा सार्धमयेसरेण ॥

Scholars are divided on the question of the identity of this Mahipāla. Professors Sten Konow,⁶ Keith⁷ and S. K. Aiyangar⁸ take him to be of the Gurjara-Pratihāra dynasty of Kanauj, while Prof. R. D. Banerjee⁹ identifies him with Mahipāla I of the Pāla dynasty of Bengal. The latter view is, however, impossible for the following reasons :—

(1) Mahipāla I of Bengal was a Buddhist, and was not therefore likely to be transported with joy as described in this drama over the story of Hariścandra. There is no peculiar Buddhistic trait anywhere in the drama—neither in the *nāndi*, nor in the body of the play.

(2) None of the inscriptions of this Mahipāla give Kārtikeya as his other name.

(3) This Mahipāla of Bengal is not known to have been hostile to the Karnāṭas. In the *Caṇḍakaśika*, however, the Sūtradhāra quotes the following *gāthā*, which, he says, is known to those who are conversant with tradition :—

यः सश्रित्य प्रकृतिगहनामार्यचाणक्यनीतिं
जित्वा नन्दान् कुसुमनगरं चन्द्रगुप्तो जिगाय ।
कर्णाटत्वं श्रुत्वमुपगतानद्य तानेव हन्तुं
दोर्दपाब्धः स पुनरभवच्छ्रीमहीपालदेवः ॥

The late Prof. R. D. Banerjee tried to explain this verse as referring to the invasion of Bengal by Rājendra Coḷa ; for “in those days the people of Bengal could not distinguish between Kannāḍas and Tāmils.” This argument is not convincing. It is more probable, indeed, almost certain, that Mahipāla of the *Caṇḍakaśika* was the first king of that name in the Gurjara-Pratihāra dynasty of Kanauj. (1) We know that he was a follower of Hinduism. He calls himself a devotee of the sun in his inscriptions. But he was not a sectarian, for he secured the image of Vaikuṇṭha (Viṣṇu) which was afterwards placed in a beautiful temple at Khajurāho. The Pratihāras called themselves *Sūryavaṃśī*, and traced their descent from Lakṣmaṇa, the brother of Rāma. It is but natural that Mahipāla I should be overjoyed to see the life of one of his illustrious ancestors Hariścandra represented on the stage, as described in the *Caṇḍakaśika*. (2) Like his father and grandfather, Mahipāla I bore several names, Harṣa,¹⁰ Vināyakapāla and Herambapāla.¹¹ He was also probably known as Caṇḍapāla. Caṇḍapāla is the hero of the Prakrit drama *Karpūramañjarī* of his court poet Rājasekhara. He is also probably referred to by the alternative title Pracāṇḍapāṇḍava of Rājasekhara's other drama, *Bālabhārata*, which was staged before him. Āryakṣemiśvar also seems to refer to him by the *caṇḍa* in the title *Caṇḍakaśika* of his Sanskrit play. Both *caṇḍa* and *pracāṇḍa* are used several times in the two dramas *Caṇḍakaśika* and *Pracāṇḍapāṇḍava*. It is again in the fitness of things that Mahipāla I, the son of Nirbhayarāja (Mahendrapāla), should call himself Caṇḍapāla. Now Caṇḍa is one of the names of Kārtikeya,¹² and so it is no matter for surprise that Āryakṣemiśvar calls him Kārtikeya in the *Bharatavākya*. The verse from the *Kāvya-mīmāṃsā* cited at the beginning of this article describes one Kārtikeya who was either a predecessor or a contemporary of Rājasekhara. As stated above, no king of that name is known to have flourished before the age of Rājasekhara. It follows, therefore, that this Kārtikeya is no other than Mahipāla I of Kanauj. It may at first sight seem strange that Mahipāla should be known by three such names as Harṣa, Herambapāla and Kārtikeya, denoting the three deities Śiva, Gaṇapati and Kārtikeya. But we have an analogous instance in his grandfather, Bhoja, being called Mihira (the Sun) and Ādivarāha (Viṣṇu).

⁶ *Das indische Drama*, p. 86.

⁸ *J.I.H.*, II, p. 341.

¹⁰ *I.A.*, XV, p. 138.

¹² Caṇḍa is included in the names of Kārtikeya well-known in three worlds' in the *Mahābhārata*, *Vana-parva adhyāya*, 232 (Bom. Ed.)

⁷ *Sanskrit Drama*, p. 239.

⁹ *JBORS.*, XIV, Part II, p. 520.

¹¹ *E.I.*, I, p. 134.

(3) The *gāthā* in the *Caṇḍakauśika* speaks of Mahīpāla's hostility to the Kārṇātas. We know that Mahīpāla I of Kanauj was obliged to leave his capital when it was devastated by the Rāṣṭrakūṭa king Indra III.¹³ Mahīpāla afterwards regained his throne with the help of a Candella king, who was either Harṣa or his son, Yaśovarman. Āryakṣemiśvar has evidently composed or incorporated the *gāthā* in his play to please his royal patron, who must have been smarting under his humiliating defeat. The Kārṇātas mentioned in that *gāthā* are evidently the Kanarese Rāṣṭrakūṭas of Malkhed, who were again assisted by his Kanarese feudatory, Arikesarin Cālukya, as stated by the Kanarese poet Pampa.

We have thus seen that Kārtikeya whose exploits are described in the verse from Rājaśekhara's *Kāvyaṁīmāṁsā* was Mahīpāla I of Kanauj. But did this king ever bring any part of the Himālayan territory under his sway? Professor R. D. Banerjee considered him incapable of any conquest.¹⁴ It is no doubt true that Mahīpāla's power declined towards the end of his reign, owing probably to the conquests of Yuvarājadeva I of Tripurī and Yaśovarman Candella. But we have no evidence to suppose that he made no conquests. On the other hand the Khajurāho inscription¹⁵ of Yaśovarman states that Mahīpāla had secured the image of Vaikuṇṭha from a Sāhi king of Kābul and the Panjāb on the strength of his army of horses and elephants. Rājaśekhara speaks of several wars of Mahīpāla in the following verse in the *Pracandapāṇḍava* :—

नमितमुत्तमौलिः पाकलो मेकलानां त्यकलितकलिङ्गः केलिन् केरलेन्दोः ।
अजनि जितकुलतः कुन्तलानां कुशरो दृढहतरमठश्रीः श्रीमहीपालदेवः ॥

One of these wars was against the king of Kulūta. Kulūta was a kingdom on the right bank of the Sutlej, south-east of Kashmir and north-east of Jālandhara.¹⁶ One of these conquests may have been described in the verse in the *Kāvyaṁīmāṁsā*.

The next question that presents itself in connection with that verse is, how far is the version of the incident about Dhruvaswāminī given in that verse historical? Professor Altekar is of opinion that the author of that verse took some liberty with history in describing it in that way. We may readily agree with him when he says that *dattvā* in that verse should be taken to mean *dātum anumatya*, for Dhruvaswāminī was never actually handed over to the enemy. Rāmagupta only consented to do it as stated in the *Devī-Candra Gupta*. The author of that verse had to compress so much matter into four lines that he may have taken that liberty. His purpose was to bring out a contrast between the glorious success of Mahīpāla and the ignominious failure of Rāmagupta, and it was immaterial whether the queen was actually handed over to the enemy or whether that calamity was averted. But in other respects the verse may be taken to state the version of the incident as it was traditionally known at the time. It would lose all its point if the incident about Dhruvaswāminī and the conquest of Mahīpāla had occurred in different places—the former at the capital of Rāmagupta in the plains, and the latter in the Himālayan hills. Besides, the context in which that verse occurs in the *Kāvyaṁīmāṁsā* shows that it was based on tradition (*kathoththa*). Like Bāṇa, Rājaśekhara also had historical sense. It is unlikely that he would cite a verse to illustrate how a present incident should be described by putting it in relation to a past event known from tradition, if the tradition had been materially changed or distorted in that verse.

After all, have we got incontrovertible evidence to prove that the version of the incident given in the *Kāvyaṁīmāṁsā* is incorrect? It states that Rāmagupta went on an adventurous

¹³ The Cambay Plates of Govinda IV, *E.I.*, VII, pp. 26-47.

¹⁴ *JBORS.*, vol. XIV, p. 519.

¹⁵ कैलासाद्भोदनाथः सुहृदिति च ततः कीरराजः प्रपेदे, साहिस्तस्मादवाप दिपतुर्गबलेनानु हेरम्बपालः । तत्पूतोर्देवपालात्तम्भ ह्यपनेः प्राप्य निन्ये प्रतिष्ठां वैकुण्ठे कुण्ठितारिः अतिथरतिलकः श्रीयशोवर्मराजः

¹⁶ Cf. Cunningham, *Ancient Geography of India*, p. 162.

expedition to a Himālayan country. His progress was checked, and he had to retreat ignominiously after handing over Dhruvaswāminī to a Khasa king. This account is not contradicted by any passages cited by Professor Altekar. None of them gives us any clue as to the scene of the incident. Professor Altekar supposes that it was in the dominions of Rāmagupta, on the ground that in one of the passages Rāmagupta is represented as having consented to hand over Dhruvadevī to the Śaka king for the safety of the people (*prakṛti*).¹⁷ From the verse in the *Kāvyamīmāṃsā*, however, it appears that Rāmagupta was accompanied by his family, and possibly by his minister and other retinue, when he entered the Himālayan country. It is these people whom Rāmagupta wanted to save. In a passage from the *Devī-Candragupta* quoted in the *Śṛiṅgāraprakāśa*¹⁸ cited by Professor Altekar the place where the incident occurred is called Alipura. As Mr. R. Sarasvati¹⁹ has pointed out, this is corroborated by the passage in the *Harṣacarita*²⁰ where the reading *alipura* is evidently a mistake for *alipura*. If this view is not accepted there would be tautology in the expression *śatroḥ skandhāvāram alipuram*. Again, *skandhāvāra* does not necessarily denote a camp. It also means a capital.²¹ So the expression can be taken to mean 'Alipura, the capital of the enemy.' This *Alipura* must have been situated somewhere in or near the ancient country of Kuluta.²² It is also possible that the real name of the capital was Nalinapura, as stated in a manuscript of the *Harṣacarita*. If so, it may be identified with the Teng-kuang mentioned by Hsüan-tsang, which was "apparently a little to the west of the modern Jalalabad." As Watters has pointed out, one name for the city was Padmapura ('lotus city') which is only a synonym of Nalinapura. It is easy to imagine how Nalinapura was in course of time read as Alipura and then as Aripura. As we have seen above, Mahipāla had conquered Śāhi, the king of Kābul and the Panjāb, and forced him to surrender a beautiful image of Viṣṇu. The identification of Nalinapura with Hsüan-tsang's *Teng-kuang* is, therefore, supported by the passage in the *Kāvyamīmāṃsā* as well.

In the *Kāvyamīmāṃsā* the enemy who reduced Rāmagupta to dire distress is called Khasa, while almost all other authorities name him Śaka. As we have seen, the author of this verse flourished in the tenth century, when the Khasas were ruling in Nepal. They are mentioned in an inscription at Khajurāho²³ as vanquished by Yaśovarman Candella. If the correct reading is Khasa, we have here an instance of anachronism, for, as Professor Altekar points out, the Khasas were not so powerful in the fourth century as to dictate terms to Rāmagupta. It is, however, more likely that Śaka is the correct reading, as Rājasekhara, who was well read, must have known this incident from the *Devī-Candragupta* and other works, and is not likely to have quoted a verse in which the tradition was distorted. In that case the Śaka enemy must have been the Kushāṇ king who is referred to as Daivaputra Shāhi Shāhānushāhi in the Allahabad Pillar inscription of Samudragupta. We know that the Kushāṇs were ruling over the Panjāb and Kābul till the fifth century A.D.²⁴

17 प्रकृतीनामाश्वासनाय शकस्य ध्रुवदेवीसंप्रदानेऽभ्युपगते राज्ञा रामगुप्तेन अरिवधार्थं यियासुः प्रतिपन्नध्रुवदेवीनेपथ्यः कुमारचन्द्रगुप्तो विज्ञपयन्नुच्यते ।

18 स्त्रीविषयनिष्ठतश्चन्द्रगुप्तः शत्रोः स्कन्धवारमलिपुरं शकपतिवधायागमत् । I.A., LI, p. 183.

19 Ibid.

20 अरिपुरे च पृथक्कलामुक्तं कामिनीविषयगुप्तश्चन्द्रगुप्तः शकपतिमशातयत् ।

21 Cf. *Harṣacarita*, p. 153 (Nirṇaya Sāgara Ed.).

22 Mr. K. P. Jayasval also locates the place in the Doāb of Jalandhara.—*JBORS.*, XVIII, p. 29.

In support of my suggestion, I may also refer to what Sir A. Cunningham wrote regarding the ancient capital of Kuluta in his *Ancient Geography of India* (p. 163):—"The present capital of the valley is Sultānpur; but the old capital of Makarsa is still called Nagar, or the city, by which name it is most generally known."

23 Watters, *On Yuan Chwang*, I, p. 188.

24 E. J., I, p. 222.

Let us next consider the objection that Professor Altekar has raised against the above identification. He says: "Chandragupta II must have taken the first opportunity to retrieve the honour of his house by destroying or at least defeating the Kushans..... But are there any indications of Chandragupta II having led any military expedition in the Punjab. None whatsoever." But this absence of evidence is at best a negative argument, and is not conclusive. Unfortunately we have very little knowledge of the events in Candragupta's reign. He may, for all we know, have proceeded against the Kushân king and reduced him to submission but spared his life, as later on Harṣa seems to have done in the case of Śaśânka. There is no evidence to suppose that the war against the Satraps of Ujjayini was the first campaign in which he was engaged. We know that the Satraps continued to rule in Mâlwa till 388 A.D. at least, i.e., for more than ten years after Candragupta's accession. During this period he may have been occupied other places e.g., in the Panjâb and Kashmir, subjugating the Kushâns. It is noteworthy that the minister Āmrakârdava, who made a gift to the Buddhist monastery at Sâñchi, describes himself as अनेकसम्राट्पद्मशतपदाकः²⁵ The many battles in which he had won renown were not evidently all of them fought in Mâlwa.

I have thus tried to prove that

- (1) King Kârtikeya to whom the verse दत्त्वा रुद्रगति, etc., is addressed was Mahîpâla I of the Gurjara Pratihâra dynasty of Kanaug;
- (2) The incident of the surrender of Dhruvasvâmini occurred either near the Jâlandhar Doâb or near Jalâlâbâd.
- (3) The Śaka enemy who reduced Râmagupta to such plight was the Kushân king who ruled over the Panjâb and Kâbul.

A CRITICAL STUDY OF ĪSOPANĪṢAD.

BY PROF. F. OTTO SCHRADER, PH.D., KIEL.

"No knowledge without virtue" may possibly be the thesis propounded in the conclusion of Kena Upaniṣad¹; yet it is Īśâ Upaniṣad that first deliberately teaches the *samuccaya* doctrine. The importance, however, of this precious little text for the history of Indian thought is still greater in that it is also the first gospel of that *karma-yoga* which is often erroneously believed to have appeared with the Bhagavadgîtâ only.

Karmayoga is clearly taught in verses 1 and 2 of this Upaniṣad. These verses (as also 9 to 11; see f.-n. 29) are a protest against that well-known growing tendency of the Upaniṣads to denounce acts as a hindrance to liberation. Acts, says our Upaniṣad, should be done by all means (*kurvann eveha*), and life may even be enjoyed (*bhujjîthâh*), supposing we renounce *ahamkâra* (instead of the acts) by constantly realizing that the Lord is in everything. *Tena tyaktena* is one of the rare absolute instrumentals occurring in Sanskrit literature (see Speijer, Sanskrit Syntax, § 372). and it means "by renouncing it (the world, *jagat*)," viz., in favour of the idea that the world is entirely God's.² This meaning persists, however we explain *īśāvāsyam*. It is emphasized by the second half of 2 which I understand thus: *evam eva na cānyathetaḥ* "na karma lipyate nare" *iti trayy asti*, i.e., "In this very way, and not by any method different from this, it (the teaching) does hold true with thee that *karman*

²⁵ V. A. Smith, *Early History of India*, 4th ed., p. 290.

¹ Belvalkar, *History of Indian Philosophy*, vol. II, p. 177.

² Two commentaries (viz., Anantâcârya's and Bâlakṛeṇadâsa's, which together with that of Râmacandra I consider the best on Īśa Up.), explain *t-ena* by *īśa*, and *tyaktena* by *dattena*, with *dhanena* understood. This is, no doubt, a very tempting suggestion, because it facilitates the connection with the following pāda (*ito 'dhikam mā gṛhah*, A.); but this meaning of *tyaj* is unfamiliar to the older as well as the later Upaniṣads.

does not adhere to the soul."³ This need not be a wholesale condemnation of the fourth āsrama, but it clearly dispenses with it as a *conditio sine qua non* of liberation.

Īśāvāsyam may be either *īśā + vāsyam* or *īśā + āvāsyam*. In the former case the underlying root could only be *vas* "to put on, to wear (a garment)" and not *vas* "to dwell" which is intransitive and would require a locative (absent in our passage).⁴ *Vāsyam*, again, cannot be a simple gerundive, because *vas ācchādane* has no non-causal passive forms,⁵ but must be a gerundive of the causal; and thus *īśā vāsyam idaṃ sarvaṃ* could only mean "All this is to be clothed with God," i.e., by the imagination of the adept.⁶ However, *vas ācchādane*, both with and without one of the dozen or so prepositions it may take, is conspicuous by its absence in the Upaniṣads⁷ where its meaning is always expressed by other verbs, such as *paridhā*, *ācchad*, *saṃpracchad*. And so there remains as the most likely padaccheda *īśā + āvāsyam* and the meaning "to be inhabited by the Lord", i.e., "to be looked at the Lord's abode". The meaning would also result in the compound *Īśāvāsyam-īśasyāvāsasyogyam*⁸. The pantheistic idea expressed here of God being in everything is of course well-known from innumerable passages (such as those on the *antaryāmin*), while the more philosophical idea of the world being enveloped by, i.e., contained in God may be instanced by the phrase *viśvasyaikaṃ pariveṣṭitāram* occurring thrice in Śvetāśvatara Up. and by the epithets *viśvāvāsa* and *jagannivāsa*. That both ideas (*sarveṣu bhūteṣu tiṣṭhan*; *ātmani sarvāṇi bhūtāni*) were perfectly familiar to the author of our Upaniṣad, is clear from his giving them side by side in stanza 5 (*tad antar asya sarvasya tad u sarvasyāsya bāhyataḥ*), and once more in stanza 6.

Stanza 3 is evidently directed against materialists and atheists. This stanza is connected, by way of contrast, with stanza 6 (note the *tu*). The intervening two stanzas (4 and 5), with other metres, are consequently quotations and may have been interpolated by a later hand.

One more quotation (but hardly interpolation) seems to be stanza 8, where the omission of one word (*yāthātathyataḥ*) and the reading *vyadhāt* (comp. *pariyagāt*) for the ill-suited imperfect *vyadadhāt* would heal the metre, though merely as to the number of syllables. Here Śaṅkara takes *pariyagāt* in the intransitive sense (*samantād agāt, ākāśavad vyāpīty arthaḥ*), and he declares *śukram*, etc., to be neuters (in the nominative) which, however, should be understood as masculines (!): "He (the *ātman* mentioned in 7) is all-pervading, is the pure one . . . ; (he) the *kavi* . . . has allotted . . .". A partial improvement on this interpretation is Rāmacandra's who, while accepting *pariyagāt=jagad vyāpītyāśīt*, takes

³ The word *asti*, though spoiling the metre, has a function here; it may but need not have crept into the text from a gloss.

⁴ Only with one of the prepositions *upa*, *anu*, *adhi*, *ā* it becomes a transitive verb with its *adhikaraṇa* in the accusative (Pāṇini I, 4, 48).—The Vedic root *vas* "to shine" (comp. *uṣas* and, probably, *vāsudeva*) with its causal *vāsayati* and also the denominative *vāsayati* "to perfume" (from *vāsa* "perfume") may be left out of account here. The latter would, indeed, give a good meaning (essentially agreeing with our own conclusion), but it is (as the doubtful form *vāsyanti*, Kṣurikā Up. 19) rather too late for our Upaniṣad.

⁵ Except *vasita* and *vasitavya*, which, however, occur in the epics only (see Whitney, "Roots").

⁶ *Vaste* being *Ātmanepada*, its causal *vāsayati* really means "to cause (somebody) to dress himself" and should, therefore, be expected to be construed like *vaste*, i.e., with the accusative of the thing to be put on (*vastraṃ vaste*). But this construction is confined to its literal sense (as found, e.g., in *Manu* VIII, 396). More frequent, from Ṛgvedic times, is *vāsayati* "to clothe with, to envelop in" (*Ātm.*: "to clothe one's self") construed with the accusative of the direct and the instrumental of the remote object (see Petersburg Dictionary, s.v.).

⁷ Colonel Jacob's Concordance has for it the sole passage *īśāvāsyam* which should not be there.

⁸ The verb *āvas* occurs also in *Chândogya* Up. V, 10, 9 and, later than *Īśa* Up., in *Nâdabindu*, etc. It has been recognized in our passage, so far as I know, only by Bâlakṛṣṇadâsa (a follower of Nimbârka). Other commentators speak, indeed, also of *vasa nivāse*, but, instead of thinking of the preposition, give no further explanation or a forced one, e.g., by means of *bāhulaka*.

śukram, etc., as true neuters (*yad brahma paryagāt . . .*), but connects *saḥ* with *kaviḥ*, etc., as referring to the same Brahma in its aspect as the personal Íśvara. Another improvement would seem to be possible by looking at *śukram*, etc., as adverbs; but considering the sparing use made of adverbs in Sanskrit it must be doubted that the passage has ever been understood in this way. On the other hand we may, as most commentators do, understand *śukram*, etc., as accusatives dependent on *paryagāt* conceived transitively with the *ātmavid* of the preceding stanza as its subject. As a matter of fact, *parigā* (as also *parigam*) cannot be shown to have ever been employed without an object (excepting only the post-Christian *parigata* "spread out, diffused"), and Śaṅkara's forced explanation, as any others based on it, must therefore be rejected. It is clear, moreover, that for fixing the meaning of an Upaniṣad passage no commentator can be more authoritative for us than the oldest traceable paraphrase of it in the Upaniṣads themselves, i.e., in our case, Bṛhadāraṇyaka Up. IV, 4, 13 : *yasyānuvittāḥ pratibuddha ātmā . . . sa viśvakṛt sa hi sarvasya kartā . . .*⁹). Still, such constructions as in Rāmacandra's second suggestion, viz., *yaḥ śukram . . . brahma paryagāt sarvabhāvena jñātavān . . . sa brahmajñāḥ kaviḥ . . .*, are certainly not admissible. But we need only turn to another Upaniṣad for the definite solution of our problem. Kāthaka Up. V, 8, which is evidently the source of our passage, runs : *ya eṣa supteṣu jāgati kāmam kāmam nirmimāṇaḥ tad eva śukram tad brahma*, etc.¹⁰ Here we have the neuter noun *śukra*; here we have the masculine corresponding with the neuter (*yaḥ . . . tad*)¹¹; and here we have the correspondence with *arthān vyadadhāt*. I, therefore, regard *yāthātathyato 'rthān* as corrupted (through a gloss) from *yo 'rthān*, because the omission of the relative pronoun is utterly improbable here, and construe : *yaḥ kaviḥ . . . arthān vyadadhāt* (for *vyadadhāt*; see above) (*tat*) *śukram akāyam . . . apāpaviddham sa (ātmavit) paryagāt*, i.e. : "He has reached the bodiless . . . Essence"¹² (which is also) the . . . Sage who has allotted . . ."¹³.

For the interpretation of stanzas 9 to 11 and 12 to 14 first of all four general points have to be noticed, viz. (1) that the two triplets are meant to be exactly parallel; (2) that the four terms *vidyā*, etc., are all of them ambiguous, and that, therefore, though in 9 and 10 and in 12 and 13, respectively, they are, of course, used in the same sense, they **may** be used in a different sense in 11 and 14, respectively; (3) that in the second half of 11 and 14, respectively, the gerund is more likely to mean simultaneousness than previousness, because the two phrases *mṛtyum tarati* and *amṛtam aśnute* are generally used without a shade of difference in the Indian religious language; and (4) that by the word *anyad* in 10 and 13 more likely than not the same reference is intended as by *tad* in 11 and 14.

⁹ The use made of Íśa Up. in Bṛhadāraṇyaka Up. IV, 4, 10 ff., is quite evident: after stanza 10, which is identical with Íśa 9, and stanza 11, which is Íśa 3 slightly modified, there follows 12 which is essentially the same as Íśa 7, and then, with the same metrical change as in Íśa Up. from the anuṣṭubh to the triṣṭubh, the paraphrase referred to above of Íśa 8. Finally, there is a correspondence in both the meaning and the last three words of stanza 15 with Íśa 6. Bṛhadāraṇyaka Up. is as a whole of course older than Íśa Up., but the whole section IV, 4, 8-21 introduced by *tad ete ślokā bhavanti* is evidently a mere medley of quotations (modified or not) from Íśa, Kena, Kāthaka and one or two unknown texts.

¹⁰ Note the celebrity of the phrase *tad eva śukram tad brahma*. It is repeated in Kāthaka Up. VI, 1, and Śvetāśvatara IV, 2, and also used in Mahānārāyaṇa I, 7, Maitrāyaṇa VI, 24 and 35, and (with the *puruṣa* placed above *brahma*, as in Bhag. Gītā XIV, 3) in Muṇḍaka III, 2, 1.

¹¹ Comp. Kāthaka Up. VI, 17 : *taṁ vidyāc chukram amṛtam*. Considering the mahāvākya *ayam ātmā brahma* it is strange that Śaṅkara could not avoid having recourse to *liṅgavyatya*.

¹² Or "Light"; comp. Bālakṛṣṇadāsa : *śukram viśvabijam trjaḥ*.

¹³ Instead of the neuters we could, of course, have masculines by regarding *śukram* as an adjective and supplying *taṁ* (or *īśvaram* or *paramātmānam*) instead of *tat*. But the series of epithets used here is of the kind found generally with the neuter *brahman* or *akṣara* only, and the Upaniṣads distinguish between *śukra*, which is a noun, and *śukla*, which is an adjective.—It must also be doubted that the advaitic turn of Bṛhadāraṇyaka Up. IV, 4, 13 (see above) is in agreement with the (more theistic) spirit of Íśa Up.

Now, from (1) it follows that *vidyayā* and *avidyayā*, respectively, of stanza 10, which are parallel to *sambhavāt* and *asambhavāt* in 13, have been preferred here merely for the sake of the metre to *vidyāyāh* and *avidyāyāh*, respectively (which are, indeed, the Mādhyandina readings), and that it is wrong, therefore, and unnecessary to assume with Prof. Deussen "a bold ellipsis." We have here the instrumental of comparison which, though absent from classical Sanskrit, is known from archaic and epical literature.¹⁴ Our third point also is in conformity with actual usage, as every Sanskritist knows. The two remaining points will come out in the course of our inquiry.

Of the two triplets, the one on *sambhūti* and *asambhūti* is the less problematical, because it gives us synonyms, and we may, therefore, expect to facilitate our further task by taking it up first. In doing so we follow the Mādhyandina recension, which has the two triplets in the reverse order to that found with the Kānvas and in most editions of the Upaniṣad. Which order is the original one can, of course, if at all, not be decided as long as we are in doubt as to the original meaning of the stanzas.¹⁵

In my opinion stanzas 12 to 14 Kānva counting refer to the nature of the Absolute (*brahma-svarūpa*) or, respectively, the condition of the liberated. They are an answer to the doubt expressed in Kāthaka Up. I, 29 : *yeyam prete vicikitsā manuṣye : astīty eke nāyam astīti caike*.¹⁶ The Absolute, says st. 13, is different from both *sambhava* "existence" and *asambhava* "non-existence."¹⁷ which can only mean that in regard to the common meaning of the word existence (*jāyate 'sti vardhate vipariṇamate 'paksīyate naśyati*) the Absolute is neither (merely) "existent" nor (merely) "non-existent." Accordingly, in st. 12 those may be meant who (without being materialists¹⁸) adhere to (*upāśate*) some sort of śūnyavāda,¹⁹ and (2) those one-sided pantheists who believe God to be the world and nothing more.²⁰ Stanza 14,

¹⁴ See Speijer, Sanskrit Syntax, § 107, and compare especially the instrumental connected with the Vedic preposition *paras* "beyond" (e.g., in *paro mātrayā*) and with *anyatra* "except" in Buddhist Sanskrit (and in Pāli), with *bhidyate* "keeps aloof from," and (occasionally) with *adhika*; also the instrumental with *sama*, *samāna*, etc.

¹⁵ It might be conjectured that either recension had originally but one triplet, viz., the one to which it now gives the first place; that is to say, that the Upaniṣad started with a single triplet; that this was modified in a later school; and that finally either school added to its triplet the one of the other school. But this is such a complicated hypothesis that it could be only accepted if we had still a trace of this evolution, e.g., if manuscripts of one of the two recensions would have but one triplet, which is not the case.

¹⁶ Which passage does not refer to ordinary death, as Śaṅkara would make us believe, but (as already noticed by Deussen) to what the Upaniṣad calls the Great Passage (*mahān sāmparāyāḥ*), viz., from the *saṃsāra* to what is beyond it. See B. N. Krishnamurti Sarma's paper "A Critique of Śaṅkara's Rendering Yeyam prete" in the Annamalai University Journal, vol. I, No. 2.

¹⁷ *Sambhava* means, indeed, "birth, production," etc., but then also "existence" in a quite general sense, as can be proved by many passages. *Sambhūti*, again, means primarily "birth, origin," etc., but in the Brāhmaṇa period also "growth, increase" and thus may also stand for existence generally.

¹⁸ Materialists are, no doubt, the *ātmahano janāḥ* of st. 3, the *vittamohena mādḥāḥ* of Kāthaka Up. II, 6 (comp. Īśā Up. I : *mā grdhaḥ kasyasvid dhanam*). For, to them our Upaniṣad holds out the *asuryā lokāḥ*; and the Asura, as is well known, is the typical materialist denying immortality in any sense : "*ayam loko, nāsti parah*" *iti mānī* (Kāthaka Up. II, 6; comp. Bhag. Gītā XVI, 8 and 20).

¹⁹ Comp. Bālakṛṣṇadāsa : *ye . . . prapañcābhāvaṃ brahmābhyupagacchanti te andhaṃ tamaḥ praviśanti . . . | na hi kevalaviśvābhāvātmakaṃ brahma kiṃtu brahmaiva svaśaktyā nānākāraṃ avalambate*. The present-day Southern Buddhists seeing only the negative side of Nirvāṇa also belong to this class.

²⁰ I. e. : who do not see that God is also *sarvasyāsa bāhyataḥ*, viz., with his transcendent "three quarters." They are worse than the *asambhūti-upāsakas*, because they confine God to his worldly "quarter." Bālakṛṣṇa is inconsistent here in explaining : *ye sambhūtyām utpattiyām ratāḥ kāryamātram eva vastu manyante na kāraṇarūpam iti*. Considering his definition of the *asambhūtivāda* he ought to have said : *ye śaktirūpam eva vastu manyante śaktimān paramēśvaro nāstīty avadhārayantaḥ*. For, even materialism, excepting perhaps its crudest form, admits of some sort of *kāraṇarūpam vastu* (*svabhāva*). —To understand with Śaṅkara and most other commentators *asambhūti* as the *avyākṛtā prakṛti* (whose worshippers are the *akṣara-upāsakas* of Bhag. Gītā XII) is tempting, indeed; but then *sambhūti* must be explained as God Brahmā (so Śaṅkara) or the *devas*, which is far from convincing and moreover renders st. 14 unintelligible.

finally, holds out liberation to those who understand the teaching of st. 13: they are liberated through *vināśa* or becoming non-existent to the world and through *sambhūti* or becoming existent as to their true nature.²¹

Turning hence to the second triplet (the first in the current editions), I shall begin by trying to explain it as immediately connected with the first, i.e., as referring to one more problem of the very nature of the first but subsidiary to it and therefore dealt with in the second place only in the Mādhyandina (=original?) recension. I mean the problem raised, in Brhadāraṇyaka Up. II, 4, 12, by Yājñavalkya's statement *na pretya saṃjñāsti*. It is clear that here again not ordinary death is the topic, but the "Great Departure" of the liberated. Now, does this event mean cessation of consciousness in the absolute sense? Undoubtedly not a few philosophers have understood it like that, though, as a rule, without denying the post-mortem existence of the liberated. I need only mention the *jaḍātma-vāda* attributed to the Mīmāṃsakas and others, and the *asaññivāda* recorded among other heresies in Pāli texts; and even in Buddhism itself the death of the liberated implies the complete cessation of consciousness. But Yājñavalkya did not understand it in this way. For him the liberated becomes so to speak **Superconscious**: he loses what we understand by consciousness and obtains instead the "mere" or unlimited consciousness of the One which, being "without a second," can have no objects of consciousness. And after Y. also all Vedāntic systems agree in teaching that in final death limited consciousness is exchanged for unlimited consciousness. Assuming, then, for the moment that *vidyā* can, and in our triplet does, mean consciousness, everything is clear: the Absolute is different from both consciousness and unconsciousness, i.e., in the usual meaning of these words (st. 10); a man believing it to be unconscious will sink down in the saṃsāra, while the one who believes it to be conscious (and thus not the Absolute but only a highest person) will sink to still deeper depths (st. 9); but he who understands the teaching of st. 10 (excluding from God, the superconscious, both unconsciousness and limited consciousness) will "cross death" through the loss of his individual consciousness and "enjoy immortality" through superconsciousness (st. 11).

This interpretation of the *vidyā-avidyā* triplet is, apart from its starting-point,²² essentially that of Bālakṛṣṇa, who, while explaining the *vidyā-upāśakas* to be those who look at their Self as an object of knowledge (*svātmānam jñānaviṣayatrenopāśate*), declares the *avidyā-upāśakas* to be such people as *avidyām jñānābhāvam ātmānam upāśate*, the result being some sort of *sūnyavāda* or *jaḍātma-vāda*. For, an ātman that has no other than the empirical consciousness (*vidyām=pramāṇaprameyādīvyavahāram*, B.) belongs through it to the world of experience. But can *vidyā* mean "consciousness"? This meaning is not known to me from any other passage; yet, considering the fluctuating use, in the older and even later language, of most words denoting "to know" or "knowledge"²³. I consider it possible, indeed, that our poet has here taken the liberty to make *vidyā* a synonym of *saṃvid*.

²¹ Change of term or meaning, respectively, in third stanza of triplet (see above, p. 207, lastpara): "becoming non-existent" (*vināśa*) for "non-existence" (*asambhūti*), and "becoming existent" (*sambhūti*) for "existence" (do.).—All commentators understand *saha* as one word. But, the particle *ha* "verily, indeed" being exceedingly frequent in the older language, we should rather read *sa ha*.

²² Which is with B.: *yan manasā na manute* (Kena Up. 5).

²³ Reminding one of the English "to know" which means both German *erkennen* and *wissen*, to come to know and to have a knowledge of. Sanskrit *vid* also, though generally used as a present perfect, may as well mean to come to know, to become aware, to be conscious; compare, e.g., the frequent *vidām cakdra*, or Brhadāraṇyaka Up. I, 3, 2 *te 'viduh*, or ibid. IV, 3, 21 *na bāhyam kimcana veda nāntaram* "is not conscious of anything external or internal,"

There is a passage in the Ânandavallî of the Taittiriya Up., viz., its sixth anuvâka and beginning of the seventh, which so strikingly approaches the view I have taken above of the two triplets that I cannot help reproducing it here in full : *ascann eva sa bhavati asad brahmeti veda cet | asti brahmeti ced veda santam enam tato vidur iti ||* (comp. Îśâ 12-13). (*tasyaiṣa eva śarîra âtmâ*) (interpolation). *athâto 'nupraśnaḥ* (a "subsidiary problem," see above, p. 209) | *utâvidvân* (i.e., as one without consciousness) *amum lokam pretya kaścana gacchati | âho vidvân* (as a conscious being) *amum lokam pretya kaścit samaśnutâ u ||*²⁴) *so 'kâmayata bahu syâṃ prajāyeyeti | sa tapas taptvâ idam sarvam asrjata yad idam kiṃca* (comp. Îśâ 1a-b) | *tat sṛṣṭvâ tad evânu prâviśat* (comp. Îśâ 1a : Îśâvâsyam) | *tad anu praviśya sac ca tyac câbhavat* (i.e., both prapañca and prapañcâbhâva, nature and the supernatural, not merely one of them ; comp. Îśâ 13) *niruktaṃ cāniruktaṃ ca nīlayanam cānīlayanam ca vijñānam cāvijñānam ca* (consciousness and unconsciousness=ordinary and transcendent consciousness ; comp. Îśâ 10) *satyam cānṛtaṃ ca* (explanation follows) | *satyam abhavat* (i.e. :) *yad idam kiṃca* (viz., the prapañca ; see above) *tat satyam* (empirical reality) *ity âcakṣate* (and, consequently, *anṛtaṃ=asad=the supernatural*) | *tad apy eṣa śloko bhavati | asad vâ idam agra âsit, tato vai sad ajâyata* (i.e. : *sambhava* from *asambhava*, the supernatural being the non-existent from the worldly point of view) | , etc.²⁵)

It now remains to be seen whether in the Kâṇva text the different position of the triplets may not be an indication of their having from the start been understood there in a different way. One thing, I believe, is certain, viz., that here not the same sort of logical sequence (confirmed by Taitt. Up.) as in the Mādhyandina text can be established. With the Mādhyandinas both triplets belong to metaphysics ; with the Kâṇvas the second (on *sambhūti*, etc.), whatever it may mean there,²⁶ can also only belong to this province, but the first may well for them have always had an ethical rather than metaphysical bearing. For, the very fact that the vidyâ-avidyâ triplet stands first here seems to exclude from it a meaning of these terms which cannot (as it can in the Mādhyandina text) be derived or guessed from the preceding verses. Here, then, *vidyâ* and *avidyâ* were in all likelihood understood in a less uncommon sense which might even have come in vogue already in the Mādhyandina school as an optional explanation. For, it was well-nigh inevitable that the triplet came to be referred to "knowledge" and "ignorance," or *parâ vidyâ* and *aparâ vidyâ*, or *karman*, respectively, and so it is, indeed, understood in all commentaries preserved to us (with the sole exception of Bâlakṛṣṇadâsa's, so far as I know) in spite of the difficulty arising from *anyad* in st. 10 for which in this case some other word than *brahma* must be supplied.

This view of the triplet can be substantiated by several Upaniṣads. Kâṭhaka Up. speaks of *vidyâ* and *avidyâ* as "widely different" (II, 4) and understands by *vidyâ* that "wisdom" (*prajñâna*, II, 24), i.e., *âtma-vidyâ*, which cannot be gained by *tarka* (II, 9), *pravaçana*, *medhâ*, and *bahuśruta* (II, 23) ; and it calls *avidyâ* the ignorance of the sensualist

²⁴ It is not possible here to understand *vidvân* and *avidvân* in the ordinary sense, because we have every reason to assume that at the time of Taitt. Up. the necessity of jñâna for mokṣa was no longer questioned by anybody, the problem being only whether *karman* too was necessary, and how long. Moreover the context shows that *vijñānam* (line 11) can only mean consciousness, as in śloka 2 (quotation!) of Taitt. Up. II, 5, the parallelism of which with verse 3 of our triplet is evident.

²⁵ It is hardly possible to make out the age of this section in relation to Îśâ Up. I am inclined to believe that these anuvâkas are earlier than Îśâ Up. (though not, perhaps, as a part of Taitt. Up.), but Dr. Belvalkar classifies them (Taitt. Up. II, 6-8) as a late interpolation in the Ânandavallî, which, as a whole, he is probably right in regarding as posterior to Îśâ Up. (*Hist. of Ind. Phil.*, vol. II, pp. 98 and 135).

²⁶ Possibly it meant the same with them, originally, as with the Mādhyandinas ; but see the commentaries. How enigmatic the whole Upaniṣad had become also to the Mādhyandinas is shown by Mahidhara's constant alternative explanations. I do not propose to discuss here the various views about the triplet. Not one of them gives complete satisfaction. Mahidhara, e.g., starts with the seemingly excellent idea of understanding *asambhūti* as a denial of reincarnation (which, by the way, does not exclude the belief in a continuance after death), but then finds himself compelled to explain *sambhūti* as the *âtman*!

(II, 4 ; *vittamohena mūdhaḥ* II, 6, the *kāmakāmin* of Bhag. Gītā II, 70), who prefers enjoyment to spiritual welfare (*preyas* to *śreyas*, II, 2), and the mock-wisdom of philosophical materialism (II, 5-6). So also Maitrāyaṇa Up. (VIII, 9) calls *avidyā* or "false learning" the doctrine imparted to the Asuras by Brhaspati (Śukra). Muṇḍaka Up. understands by *avidyā* (I, 2, 8-9) the *aparā vidyā* of the Karmakāṇḍa (I, 1, 4-5), speaks with contempt of the pious vaidikas (I, 2, 1-10, source of Bhag. Gītā II, 42 ff.), and denies brahmaloka to be accessible through karman (*nāsty akṛtaḥ kṛtena*, I, 2, 12)—which seems to be the very attitude declined in Īśā Up. 2. *Vidyā* appears in Muṇḍaka Up. as *samyag-jñāna* (III, 1, 5). In Kena Up. also *vidyā* is *ātmavidyā* (12), and this higher wisdom is expressly stated to be different from empirical knowledge (3 and 11).²⁷

On this basis, then, we have the choice of understanding *vidyā* and *avidyā* either as *ātmavidyā* and any other *vidyā* (orthodox or heterodox), or (viz., *abrāhmaṇavat*, Anantācārya) as *ātmavidyā* and *karman*. But, since in those texts *vidyā*, as contrasted with *avidyā*, means always *ātma-* or *brahma-vidyā* only, we are **N o t** at liberty to understand by it, as Śāṅkara does, the polytheistic theology (*devatāviśayaṃ jñānam*) which he contrasts here as a higher science (*vidyā*) with the sacrificial or lower science (*avidyā*) with which it is connected. For, the sacred text he refers to for it (viz., *vidyayā tad āroḥanti | vidyayā devalokaḥ | na tatra dakṣiṇā yanti | karmaṇā pitrlokaḥ*) does not support his view, because *devaloka*, as the terminus of the devayāna, is in the older Upaniṣads the world "from which there is no return," as is clear from even the quotation itself ; and we cannot help admitting that the conjunction impossible except for a fool, according to Śāṅkara, of the knowledge of the Absolute with any other knowledge or with karman²⁸ has actually been performed by the author of our Upaniṣad who was hardly a fool, though a strong advocate of that very theory of jñānakarmasamuccaya so passionately combated in the later Advaita. We may, however, concede to Śāṅkara that a juxtaposition of what is *phalavat* and *aphalavat* (*karman* and *vidyā*) is not likely in a passage like ours. But this leads us just to deny that the noun to be supplied for *anyad* in st. 10 is *phalam*. *Phalam* is unlikely also because of the forced construction it demands (ellipsis), *avidā* and *vidyā*, being not themselves *phala* or not, *phala* but only productive or not productive of such. Curiously enough, this has been overlooked by all except Kūranārāyaṇa, a follower of Rāmānuja, who supplies the word *mokṣa-sāadhanam* which is, indeed, quite acceptable. One more supplement, viz., *kevalam*, for both *vidyā* and *avidyā*, is employed by all commentators, and this is really indispensable for making sense of the triplet. Now, *vidyā* being *ātma-* or *brahmavidyā*, *avidyā* must be either non-Vedāntic philosophy or *karman* (with the science relating thereto) ; and, as liberation is in our Upaniṣad taught to result from *vidyā* and *avidyā* **C o m b i n e d**, this combination can with a champion for *karman* not well be one of *brahmavidyā* and *ānvikṣikī*, or the like, but only the well-known one of the jñāna- and the karma-kāṇḍa. And so we may now explain the triplet as follows.

The Upaniṣad, as already stated, begins with a vigorous protest against naiṣkarmya. After dealing, as equally necessary, in stanzas 1 and 2 with the Way of Works and in 3 to 8 with the Way of Knowledge it takes up their mutual relation in the triplet on *vidyā* and *avidyā*. Those who neglect or reject *vidyā*, it says, are condemned to darkness (low births), and those who pride themselves with *vidyā*, rejecting Action, are condemned to still greater darkness (9), because they are worse than the man who has no knowledge but does his duty.²⁹

²⁷ Kena Up. 3 and 12 seem to correct Īśā Up. by removing the instrumentals of st. 10 and the apparent obscurity of st. 11, but the third and fourth khaṇḍa of Kena Up. are undoubtedly prior to Īśā Up. The chronological relation of Kāthaka and Muṇḍaka to Īśā Up. is not clear (Dr. Belvalkar thinks they are later) ; Maitrāyaṇa Up. is, of course, later.

²⁸ *Yad atmaikatvavijñānam tan na kenacit karmaṇā jñānāntareṇa vā hy amūḍhaḥ samuccicṣati.*

²⁹ The preference given here to the *avidyā-upāsaka* is in conformance with the polemical attitude taken from the outset by our author.

Neither by carana alone nor by vidyâ alone can the goal be reached (10), but he who recognizes and practises both until his end, is by both together released from rebirth (11).

There is in the Viṣṇu-Purâṇa (VI, 6) a remarkable story (referred to by Rāmānuja in his Śrībhāṣya) which makes use, though not saying so, of the triplet as explained above. There were two kings, we are told, called Khândikya and Keśidhvaja, of whom the former was a great authority in the karmamârṅga, while the latter was well-versed in âtmavidyâ. But Keśidhvaja wanted liberation and for this purpose took also to sacrifices (*iyâja so 'pi subahûn yajñân*), viz., in order to "*brahmavidyâm adhiṣṭhâya tartum mṛtyum avidyayâ*." At one time, being at a loss concerning a prâyaścitta, he asked for and obtained instruction from Khândikya, whom he then, at his request, rewarded with âtmavidyâ in the place of a dakṣiṇâ, and so at last both of them were in possession of the twofold means of liberation.³⁰

I said that in the Kânva recension the connection of the first with the second triplet is less evident than with the Mâdhyandinas. Still, here also the connection can be easily established, viz., by means of the question whether the double effort expected of the mumukṣu in the first triplet is really worth being made, if it results in a state which according to some philosophers is tantamount to non-existence.

To return now to the problem of the different position of the triplets in the two recensions, I would say that this discrepancy is less difficult to be accounted for on the supposition that the Mâdhyandina text is the older one.³¹ For, then we could assume that the position of the triplets was intentionally reversed by the Kânvas, because of the greater importance they attached to the vidyâ-avidyâ triplet in the sense in which they understood it, after the original meaning had been forgotten or put in the shade by the new one. On the other hand there is this to be said in favour of the Kânva text, that in it the position and meaning of the said triplet is in harmony with what seems to be the principal object of the author of the Upaniṣad, viz., the inculcation of samuccaya³²; and that, looked at from this point of view, the position of the triplets as found with the Kânvas might appear to be the original one, as it could here be accounted for by the author's wish to deal first with the practical, and for him more important, problem of the mokṣasâdhana before dealing with a merely theoretical doubt. In this case, then, the Mâdhyandinas, without (rather than with) changing the meaning of the vidyâ-avidyâ triplet, would have reversed the position of the triplets in favour of what appeared to them the more logical order. There is, however, one serious drawback in this second hypothesis, viz., its inability to refer the words *anyad* and *tad* occurring in both triplets to one and the same word and the only one which can be supplied for them without difficulty and from the wording of the Upaniṣad itself. The first impression of the unbiassed reader, and the last after having carefully examined everything implied, must, in my opinion, inevitably be that both these words in either triplet cannot originally refer to anything else but the Absolute (the brahman called *tad* in st. 4 and 5, and *śukram* in 8). The Absolute—our author meant to say—is neither merely existent and conscious nor merely non-existent or unconscious (st. 10 and 13), but is rather both (st. 11 and 14), viz., the latter from the worldly point of view and the former in a higher (metaphysical) sense, i.e., within its own realm which is not really accessible to definitions (*yato vâco nivartante*).

³⁰ The point of the story has been entirely missed by Prof. Wilson, because he was not aware of its source.

³¹ That is to say, in this particular point, but not necessarily as regards the readings *vidyâyâh* and *avidyâyâh*.

³² Note the emphasis laid once more on works in the concluding section of the Upaniṣad (st. 17).

A COMPARISON BETWEEN SIGNS OF THE 'INDUS SCRIPT' AND SIGNS IN THE *CORPUS INSCRIPTIONUM ETRUSCARUM.*

BY DR. GIUSEPPE PICCOLI.

As Orientalists are aware, there has been discovered, up to April 1931, in the basin of the Indus, at Mohenjodâro¹ and Harappâ, an ancient script in syllabic writing. I propose to show that certain characteristic signs recurring in this script will be seen to be identical with those found on various Etruscan utensils and monumental remains.

For the present we shall consider all those puzzling signs, which, while not identified with the elements of any Etruscan alphabet, can be compared with similar signs in the records of the Indus script, as also those characters and initial letters of typical Etruscan alphabets which are found in the Indus script. It will be well to note, in advance, that in the case of the Etruscan remains the signs are generally found isolated, on the inside, on the edges or on the bases of the bowls, cups, pottery vases or other objects pertaining to the tombs. The same signs or marks appear, moreover, at the top and at the foot of epigraphs, on tomb covers, on small clay pyramids, on partition walls (e.g., in the Cavone di Fantibassi), and, finally, on the squared blocks of travertin of the Etruscan walls of Perugia.

With these prefatory remarks, we may turn to the comparative tables, A and B, reproduced on the annexed Plate, in which are shown those signs of the Indus script² (col. A) which in their forms and arrangement recall corresponding signs in the *Corpus Inscriptionum Etruscarum* and the *Corpus Inscriptionum Italicarum*³ (col. B). The identity of the signs in the two columns is clear and definite, inasmuch as the correspondence between them is remarkable. Possibly the solution of some Etruscan problem may provide a more reasonable explanation than that the resemblance is a purely fortuitous coincidence.

Let us now compare individual signs of the CIE. (which have been indicated by Arabic numerals only) with signs of the Indus script (indicated by Roman numerals). Rather than follow a purely consecutive order, I shall follow the criterion of greater rareness or singularity, some of the Etruscan signs standing out as peculiar and not represented in any hitherto known ancient alphabet. But first of all, attention may be drawn to the theory of the introduction by the Etruscans⁴ into Latium of the Greek alphabet of the Chalcidian Ionians. Since the classical tradition tells us of two types of Greek alphabets, characterised respectively by their similarity to, or dissimilarity from, the Phœnician and Pelasgian alphabets, it remains to decide which of these two types of Greek alphabet it is that the Etruscans handed down to us. Perchance the signs of our Indus script may be able to give us some enlightenment in this connexion. It should be noted as not irrelevant to our investigation that the latter script has come to light from the 'Indus Valley Civilization,' in which peoples of various races and cultures must have come together, among whom were also people of 'Mediterranean Race.'⁵ There have, further, been discovered there a variety of relics of inestimable value for the study of Egyptian, Babylonian, etc., cultures, as may be seen from the shrewd observations of the eminent writers who have contributed the several chapters in the great work published by Sir J. Marshall.

¹ Sir John Marshall, *Mohenjo-daro and the Indus Civilization*, 3 vols., London, 1931; *Illustrated London News*, 1924 and 1926; *Annual Reports, A.S.I.*, 1923-24 et seq.

² In *JRAS.*, April 1932, p. 466 f., G. R. Hunter, after several visits to the sites, has collated and arranged, with their variations, all the signs in his note entitled "Mohenjo-daro—Indus Epigraphy." The Roman numerals in col. A of the accompanying Plate correspond with those given in Mr. Hunter's "Sign List" (*ib.*, pp. 494-503).

³ Carolus Pauli, *Corpus Inscriptionum Etruscarum*, Leipzig, 1893-1902.

A. Fabretti, *Corpus Inscriptionum Italicarum*, Turin, 1867; *id.*, *Supplementi* I, II, III.

In this paper these two works are referred to by the initials, CIE. and CII. respectively.

⁴ V. Helbig, *Bull. dell'Inst.*, 1883, p. 169 f.

⁵ The races of the 'Indus population' are thus specified in Marshall's work:—(1) Proto-Australoid, (2) Mediterranean Race. (3) Mongolian branch of the Alpine Stock. and (4) Alpine Race.

Confining ourselves here to the script found at Mohenjodâro, we may note that it contains signs in common with the Vikramkhôl inscription,⁶ and with old inscriptions found especially in Central Asia, Mesopotamia and Egypt. For some of the signs an Asiatic provenance has been unmistakably established. Certain signs, again, have been interpreted as meaning 'son', 'sun', 'moon', 'temple', 'king', 'god'; others as representing charms. In particular Prof. S. Langdon has noted that :

- (1) the Indus inscriptions are to be read from right to left ;
- (2) some of the signs must be independent of the phrases or words ;
- (3) certain signs are similar to those of ancient inscriptions of Mesopotamia, Egypt, etc. ;
- (4) these it may be possible to interpret with the aid of old Sumerian ;
- (5) the Indus script is predominantly syllabic.

It is indeed interesting to find linguistic affinities with words of the Sumerian, Elamite and other kindred tongues, and between certain signs and letters of the Brâhmî script. Take the instance of the Indian (Sans.) word *mudrâ*, Gk. *μύδρος*, a 'lump of (hot) metal', Sumerian *mudru*, 'comb'. Now the sign representing a comb occurs frequently both on the ancient 'Hyderabad pottery' and on that found in the Indus Valley.

In the CIE. also we find a syllabic script predominant, reading from right to left a prevalent feature, and in certain inscriptions several signs which should be regarded as independent or separate from the lines of script, etc.—a few coincidences, not fortuitous, these, which must not be overlooked. Nor must we forget the "Etruscan affinities in a Ras Shamra tablet" pointed out by the late Dr. A. H. Sayce,⁷ where that illustrious scholar agrees with the present writer in some of his grammatical and lexical remarks,⁸ and where he considers the Etruscan words *aisar*, *aesar*, *eiser*, 'god', quoting in evidence *αἰσοί. θεοί, ἐπὶ τῷ ῥ' ἡνῶν* (Hesychius), as related to *A - s - r* of the tablet referred to.

In this connexion reference should be made also to the cases of material correspondence between, for example, the Etruscan *iluu* of the famous 'Devotio' of Monte Pitti (Campiglia Marittima) and the Akkadian *I-lum*, a family or clan name, which also occurs frequently in Sumerian epigraphs ; with the Hittite *Ilâni*, the name of a divinity in several hieroglyphic inscriptions ; with the Chaldean *Ilou*, a name for the supreme deity found in inscriptions in Asia and Mesopotamia ; with the Yoruba *Ilo-*, *Ilu-*, roots of place and family names in Northern Nigeria.

Availing of the decipherment of some signs of the Indus script which decorate some pieces of pottery excavated at Mohenjodâro and Harappâ, we shall try to interpret the corresponding signs of the CIE. For the present the following brief notes are recorded for consideration :—

(a) The signs⁹ II, VI, X, XXXVIII, XLII, XLIII in col. A are numerals. These signs occur respectively "under the base of a small vase", CIE. 3316 ; "on a piece of broken tufa stone", CIE. 5019 ; "under the base of vases", CII. 2260^e ; "on the upper side of a weaver's weight", CIE. 8368 ; in the Cavone di Fantibassi, "just half-way along the trench", CIE. 8427^e ; "on the neck and on the middle of an oinochoe", CIE. 8304 ; "under the base" of the saucers, CIE. 8302 and 8303 ; "on the walls of the excavated way", CIE. 8427^d ;

⁶ *Indian Antiquary*, LXII (1933), p. 58 f.

⁷ *JRAS.*, 1932, Pt. I, p. 43 f.


































⁸ Cf. my paper on the "Metodo etimologico-combinatorio per l'interpretazione dei testi etruschi" in the *Actes du deuxième Congrès International de Linguistes*, Geneva, 1933.































⁹ The sign II^a (col. A) engraved, for instance, on the cup CIE. 8066 is usually confused with the sign II^b or the sign VI. Here, however, we have to deal with two different signs, inasmuch as that of CIE. 8066 is a syllabic sign, while those of CIE. 5089, CII. 2260^v, etc., are numerals, rather than "lapidary's marks," as will be seen when I deal with this question.

A
(Inclus Signs.)

B
(Signs from the CIE. and CHL.)

II U, U, V, V, Y, Y, V;	8066 U, 2458 V, 3316 V, 8188 V;
III U, U, U, U;	3307 U, 8298 U, 8298 U;
VI U, U;	5019 U, 2260 ^e U, 4956 V;
VII O, O;	4706 O, O;
VIII 𐀀, 𐀀, 𐀀;	8329 𐀀, 𐀀;
X Y, Y, Y;	8368 Y, 8427 ^a , 8292 Y, 8307 Y;
XV 𐀁;	8529 𐀁;
XVI 𐀂;	* * 𐀂;
XXVI 𐀃, 𐀃, 𐀃, 𐀃, 𐀃, 𐀃;	4715 𐀃, * * 𐀃, 2204 𐀃, 4732 𐀃;
XXIX 𐀄, O, 𐀄, O, 𐀄, O;	* * 𐀄, 3322 O, 4722 O, 8330 𐀄;
𐀅, 𐀅, 𐀅, 𐀅;	4731 ^v 𐀅, 4788 𐀅, 8300 𐀅;
XXXVIII 𐀆, 𐀆, 𐀆;	8304 𐀆, 𐀆;
XLII I, I, I;	8302 I, 8303 I, 8292 I, 8324 ^a I;
XLIII 𐀇, 𐀇;	8323 ^b I;
XLIX 𐀈, 𐀈;	8427 ^d 𐀈;
LII 𐀉, 𐀉, 𐀉, 𐀉, 𐀉, 𐀉;	8018 𐀉;
LIX 𐀊;	3315 𐀊, 9033 𐀊, 8292 𐀊, 3316 𐀊;
LX 𐀋, 𐀋, 𐀋;	4731 ^c 𐀋, 8069 𐀋, 4715 𐀋, 4721 𐀋;
LXXXIII 𐀌, 𐀌, 𐀌;	3308 𐀌, 8427 ^{a, e} 𐀌;
	* 2260 ^x 𐀌, 5221 𐀌, 4733 𐀌, 𐀌;
	* 241 𐀌;

LXXXIV , ;
LXXXV M;
LXXXVI H,
LXXXVIII , , , , , , , ;
XCI A;
XCII P;
XCIII D;
XCV X, Y, +;
XCVII , ;
XCVIII X;
CIV ;
CXIII A;
CXIV ;
CXVI , , , , , ;
CXVII , , , ;
CXIX , , , ;
CXX , ;
CXXIII , ;
CXXVIII ;
CXXXV 8.

2260^h , 8057 ;
* * M;
8356 ;
* * , , , , , ;
8299 ;
* 2218 ;
3321^a D, O;
8324^c X, 8435 , 4715 , 4726 +,
3309 , 3319 + 4731^a +, 4947 +;
8069^b ;
8377 ;
* * ;
8297 ;
* * ;
3321^b , *2260ⁱ ;
8183 , 3312 , 8292 , 8186 ;
3323^a , 3338 ;
3319 ;
* 2260^t ;
* 2260^v ;
* * 8.

so also under the lines of the inscription CIE. 2458 and in the middle of the stone is found the same sign as II, and which, from its form and position cannot be considered to be a letter forming part of the inscription itself.

(b) The sign XCV in col. A is an ideograph, and probably a title, with its two variations respectively, which are indeed frequently met "in the middle of the base" of the saucer, CIE. 8324^c; "on the inside" of the cup, CIE. 8435; to the right and beneath the inscription on the "sepulchral tile", CIE. 4715; in the middle and beneath the inscription on the "sepulchral tile", CIE. 4726; "on several isolated blocks of travertin of the Etruscan walls of Perugia", CIE. 3309 and 3319; on top of the "sepulchral tile", CIE. 4731^a; "on the front of the tomb", CIE. 4947, to which the numeric value of X was assigned.

(c) The signs CXIX in col. A are regarded as the initials of some name or else of a solemn formula. These appear ("once only") upon the blocks of the Etruscan walls of Perugia, CIE. 3323^a; as a component of a monogram engraved on the cup CIE. 9339; as a component of another monogram "beneath the bases of the vases", CII. 2260ⁱ.

The sign CXX, which is also frequent in the Etruscan alphabets, might have the value of *o*; the sign CXIV= \acute{u} , \acute{o} , as in Brāhmī; the sign XXIX open at the bottom probably represents (.), that is to say, a repetition of the sign LII. So the two vertical strokes, rather long and straight (thus: ||), especially when found by themselves on certain Etruscan objects, might represent the number XX.

(d) The signs (, > , very often accompanied by +, ×, which are found isolated at the end of various Etruscan inscriptions, may also be interpreted as \acute{u} , or perhaps as the initial of some name or solemn formula. The same may be said of the sign II engraved upon the cup CIE. 8066.

The following call for separate consideration :—

"The form of a letter which is not Faliscan", CIE. 8296, identical with the sign III (col. A); the design of a "waggon", CIE. 4706, similar to VII; the sign CIE. 8529, which was connected with the Greek ψ , identical with XV; the sign CIE. 4722, which was regarded as *th* conjunct, similar to XXIX; the last letter "not closed" of CIE. 4788, identical with XXIX⁶; the sign "on the front of the tomb" likened to the form of a "number representing 100", similar to LX; the sign CIE. 8069, which is perhaps only an initial of the type of XCVII. In like manner we may associate with CXVII the sign CIE. 8183, which was interpreted as a Faliscan *m*, or a Latin M (=1000); and so also the sign CIE. 8377, which was connected with the Latin X or the Faliscan *t*, may be found in the Indus sign XCVIII.

Finally attention should be drawn to the "circular"¹⁰ shape of the Etruscan alphabetic elements, comparable with the Indus forms II, III, LII, in which is reflected a common origin with the same signs that appear in the ancient inscriptions of Mesopotamia.

THE WISE SAYINGS OF NAND RISHI.

BY PANDIT ANAND KOUL, PRESIDENT OF THE ŚRĪNAGAR MUNICIPALITY (Retired.)

KASHMĪR is a land of striking contrasts. Its snow-clad and sunlit panorama of mountains, its mirror-like lakes and sparkling springs, its silvery rivers and streamlets, its emerald-green dales and hills—in short, its varied scenery of vast grandeur and little beauty-spots—while charming those in pursuit of worldly pleasure and enjoyment, afford peace of mind, mingled with bliss, to those striving for the attainment of a higher purpose, the solution of the riddle of life. This land has produced, in the past, many saints and seers, among both Hindus and Muhammadans, who preached virtue and moral truths with such eloquence and poetic power as to sink deep into the hearts of the people.

¹⁰ Prof. S. Langdon (*vide* Marshall's work cited above) thinks their circular shape and sequence are unusual, and that "they were probably manufactured in Mesopotamia."

Amongst such saints was the famous Nand Fishi, *alias* Shaikh^hu'l-'alam or Shaikh Nûru'd-dîn of Tsrâr, about whom a Persian poet has fitly sung thus :—

شیخ نورالدین که نور از خاب او آید برون
فیض گوناگون ز روح پای او آید برون

“ Shaikh Nûru'd-dîn—lustre, beams forth from the dust of his grave,
“ A variety of grace flows out from his holy soul.”

A brief outline of the life of this renowned saint has already been given by me in this journal (*vide* vols. LVIII and LIX). A number of his sayings, which I have been able to collect, are reproduced with English translations, below. Pregnant with eternal truth and eminent wisdom as they are, they show that he was not only a great seer in the world beyond but also a sage humanist, whose mission in life was to teach the highest morals in sweet, terse and inspiring language. These wise and vivid sayings represent ancient culture, and display what is best and finest in humanity. Their study stimulates theological and philosophical thought. They contribute to the evolution of human ethics and, moreover, possess a poetic charm dominated by measureless power to moralize and spiritualize. In short, they are an ideal gift of olden times to the modern age, full of perennial interest and value to deep thinkers, as well as to philologists and Oriental scholars, whose aim is to make history relive for us by their researches into things antique.

- (1) *Ādam akuy ta byun byun wâr—
Ak layi mukhta ta ak layi na hâr.
Tsandun ti dâr, arkhor ti dâr,
Arkhor âsi na barkhurdâr.*

Man is the same [but] of different qualities;
One is worth a pearl, another is not worth a shell.
Sandal is wood, *arkhor* is wood, [but]
Arkhor is not of any use.

No carpenter in Kashmîr will work with the poisonous *arkhor* (*Rhus Wallichii*). The sap of the green wood causes weals and blisters.

- (2) *Ādana archanâ karay no mē Tas,
Wuni pyom tsētas grēki vizi nûn.*

I performed no devotion to Him (God) in my younger days;
Now, at the moment of boiling [food], I have remembered [to obtain] salt.
I.e., *too late*.

- (3) *Akis ditut narma ta khâsay,
Akis jandah palâs nay.
Akis ditut barni-nyâsay,
Akis tsûr ây dorân Lhâsay.*

To one Thou [O God] gavest shawl and linen,
To another not even a rag quilt.
To one Thou [O God] gavest [enough for enjoyment] just near his own house door,
To another thieves came running from [such a long distance as] Lhasa [and stole all he possessed].

- (4) *Āsiye ta buchis bhojan dizey.*
Nanis pritsh zi na kyā chay zāt.
Tava satī, sāsa gun puni prāvizey.
Hā Nandī ! sukry rāviy na zāh.

If thou canst afford, provide the hungry with food.

Do not inquire from the nude what his caste is (i.e., of whatever caste he may be, clothe him).

By doing so, thou shalt obtain virtue one thousand times over.

O Nand ! a virtuous deed shall never be lost.

- (5) *Ārwāl bhangī-kon wopun maidānay ;*
Chis kāghaz karān dasit kyēt ;
'Ilmuk kalima likhuk ada tasay.
Su kath zāts āv wasit kyēt ?

In the beginning the hemp plant grew on a plain ;

It was beaten down and made into paper ;

Then [after undergoing such affliction] the word of learning was written on it.

Which class was it degraded to ? (i.e., on the contrary, it became elevated and consecrated).

- (6) *Buthā chalīt, bānga parit ;*
Kawa zāna, Rishi ! kyāh chuy wasawas.
Deshana rust 'umrā bharat ;
Daftam tee namāz karat kas.

Having washed thy face, thou hast called the believers to prayer ;

How can I know, O Rishi ! what thou feelest in thy heart, or what thy bows are for ?

Thou hast lived a life without seeing [God] ;

Tell me to whom didst thou offer prayer.

(i. e. a hypocrite).

- (7) *Gānth kyāh zāni yīra wasun.*
Khar kyāh zani saha sund zyuth,
Shānt kyāh zāni lolun ta rasun,
Hānth kyāh zāni prasun kyuth.

What does a kite know of swimming ?

What does an ass know of the prey of a tiger ?

What does a pious woman know of murmuring and being displeased ?

Does a barren woman know what labour is ?

- (8) *Grah yēli āsiy kāsun Shāhas*
Tēli ho sapadiy Tāzi Bhaṭṭi kân.

When the King (God) wills to remove ill-luck from thee,

Then it will be like Tāzi Bhaṭṭ's arrow.

Explanation.—Tāzi Bhaṭṭ rose to high position under King Zainu'l-ābidin (1421-72 A.D.). He was originally a poor man. The King once placed a ring upon a wall and issued a proclamation that whoever could shoot an arrow from a certain distance straight through the ring

should receive a reward. The best archers in the kingdom tried, but none succeeded. One day Tâzi Bhaṭṭ, who was passing that way, firing his arrows in all directions in a most reckless fashion, came to the place where the ring was suspended, and, more from a playful feeling than from any thought of accomplishing the difficult feat, let go an arrow, which, to his great astonishment, passed clean through the ring. He was immediately conducted to the presence of the King, who praised him and gave him the promised reward.

- (9) *Guḍanic rani chay tîl cirâghas :*
Guḍanic rani chëy bâghac hiy :
Guḍanic rani chëy nâra-phâh Mâgas :
Guḍanic rani chëy panani ziy :
Guḍanic rani chëy brând sangûlas.
Doyim rani chëy mûlan drot :
Triyam rani chëy hây zan krûlas :
Tsûrim rani chëy gharibas ghaṭo!

The first wife is [like] oil to a lamp ;
 The first wife is [like] a flower-bush in a garden ;
 The first wife is [like] the warmth of a fire in January-February ;
 The first wife is [like] one's own earnings.
 The first wife is [like] a step up to the door-chain.
 The second wife is [like] a sickle [applied] to the roots ;
 The third wife is [like] soot on the front door ;
 The fourth wife is [like] darkness to the poor.

- (10) *Hâras nindar piyam yutâm para gom ;*
Kâras doh grinz tsâm na ak.
Âdana gharey kâdan me wah gom,
Nit pathas mẽ hëkim na tsak.
Teli pyos fikri yêli Waṭun koh gom ;
Put âm bor wati kuḍum na thak.
Tsyûnum na yutâm mandenên doh gom.
Zyûnum na kentsha lajim patay hak.

I fell asleep in Har (June-July) until the stream of water dried up ;
 On no single day did it appeal to me to work.
 While yet forming, the alluvial deposit [in the stream] got washed away ;
 I could not carry turfed earth to the fields.
 I came to my senses when Waṭāyan became difficult to ascend like a hill ;
 The load pressed [heavily] on my back, but I did not take rest on the way ;
 I did not see until the day finished at noon ;
 I did not gain anything until a cry to halt reached me.

- (11) *Harum kyâhtâm mẽ, Hara gutshum.*
Sor kaji trâvit tamiy kaji drâs.
Pâr kun pakân ta wath mukajim :
Lajim buchi ta taway âs.

Something was shaken from me ; I desired to find God.
 I came with that desire, after abandoning all [other] desires.
 In going towards the East (i.e., towards God) the path cleared for me ;
 I got hungry, and therefore I came.

(To be continued.)

BOOK-NOTICES.

THE HISTORICAL INSCRIPTIONS OF SOUTHERN INDIA, by ROBERT SEWELL. Published, under Orders of Government, by the University of Madras. Edited by S. KRISHNASWAMI AIYANGAR, M.A., Hon.Ph.D. Pp. xiv + 451; map. Madras, 1932. Rs. 10.

Robert Sewell always saw the forest, however numerous the trees. His *Lists of Antiquities* is a model survey, topographical, condensing in handy and intelligible form a mass of information, still invaluable, for every district and taluk in the Madras Presidency. It is a pity that his lead was never followed. His history of Vijayanagar is a masterpiece of shrewd scholarship. Although much new material has come to light since 1900, when it was first published, there is little in it that requires correction, and its reissue in facsimile a quarter of a century later is evidence of its soundness.

The last fifteen years or so of Sewell's life were devoted to preparing the volume now under review. He was well-equipped for the task by years of patient work on the intricacies and pitfalls of Indian chronology. Among the many thousands of inscriptions recorded in S. India (up to 1923) Sewell wisely concentrated on those which he "vetted" sound. A few undated records of outstanding historical value are also included in this collection. The inscriptions are arranged in chronological order, and are correlated with the general trend of Indian (and Sinhalese) history by the frequent insertion of short explanatory paragraphs at appropriate points. The record begins with Aśoka and ends with Queen Victoria, covering just over 300 pages. It is preceded by a short introduction to the early period up to the second century A.D., and succeeded by an exhaustive series of dynastic genealogies, with annotations, which runs to nearly 90 pages. Sewell is never dogmatic or argumentative; the academical controversies with which Indian history bristles he leaves alone, simply stating that "authorities" differ.

The value of this work can hardly be overrated. It supplies the foundation and framework for the reconstruction of S. Indian history, and brings into one view the unceasing interplay of cultural and political forces through a period of over two thousand years. It is a unique source-book of permanent worth.

Professor Krishnaswami Aiyangar's editing is judicious. Sewell's text he leaves untouched, indicating in short footnotes such modifications as are needed. He also contributes a map and an index. The index is a little puzzling in parts, e.g., there are 16 "Krishnas," and it takes time to sort them out; entry No. 1 refers to three different persons; Nos. 3,

5 and 6 all refer to the same person, while No. 4 is the river of that name. Some references to Venkaṭappa of Keladi appear under "Venkaṭappa," others under "Keladi," and there is no cross reference; and so forth.

The Madras Government, with their usual readiness to promote S. Indian research, have financed the publication.

F. J. R.

ÉTUDES D'ORIENTALISME, publiées par le Musée Guimet à la mémoire de Raymonde Linossier. 2 vols. 10×6½ in.; pp. vii+562, with 70 plates and numerous illustrations in the text. Paris, Ernest Leroux, 1932.

The graceful prefatory words of M. René Grousset and the papers contributed spontaneously by so many distinguished French scholars, which fill these two handsomely illustrated volumes, bear testimony to the high esteem felt for the brilliant young lady to whose memory they have been dedicated. Mention can be made here of only a few papers that may specially appeal to our Indian readers. The first, by the late Raymonde Linossier herself, is a collection of descriptive labels, serving, when thus printed collectively, as a catalogue, of the Tibetan paintings in the Loo collection—models of what such descriptions should be—that will be very useful to students of Tibetan Buddhist iconography. Then there is a suggestive paper by Madame Foucher on a type of coinage of Pañcāla, in which she has, correctly, we venture to think, interpreted the figure on certain coins reproduced by Cunningham (cf. *C.A.I.*, Pl. VII, nos. 12, 13 and 15), not as Agni nor as a 'five-branched tree,' but as a five-hooded *nāga*. Mme. Foucher, in seeking an explanation of this symbol, draws attention to the snake legends associated with Pañcāla, and suggests that we may have here evidence of a connexion between coins and the patron divinities and religious sites of the towns where they were minted. We think, however, it should be considered whether this may not have been a dynastic symbol; and in this connexion attention may be invited to the views contained in Mr. K. P. Jayaswal's article on the 'History of India, c. 150 A.D. to 350 A.D.' (Pt. I, Ch. iv) in *JBORS.*, XIX (1933).

In the paper entitled 'Mesopotamian and Early Indian Art: Comparisons,' Dr. C. L. Fabri has presented, with useful illustrative sketches, a series of striking parallels in selected elements of Indian art, viz. (1) the *Zikkurat* motif, (2) the sun disc, (3) the sacred tree, (4) the jug of superfluity, (5) the lion and the bull, (6) the throne with the lion leg, (7) winged animals and other fanciful creatures, (8) the hair curls of the Buddha, and (9) the *mekhalā* girdle. The correspondences revealed are quite patent, and

we shall look forward to the publication of the complete material collected, of which this paper contains but samples. Dr. Fabri would emphasise two conclusions, firstly, that a long connexion between Indian and Western Asian art must necessarily be supposed, and, secondly, that "it is not Persia, or at least not *only* Persia from which Western elements of Indian art are borrowed, but both Persian and Indian art have borrowed from a common source, mainly independently from each other: and this accounts for the partial similarities as well as the great differences of Persian and Indian art alluded to by recent authors."

In another paper M. René Grousset points to correspondences between the Pāla and Sena art of India and that of which examples are found in Ceylon, Java, etc. Consideration of the analogies presented leads him to envisage a diffusion of the later ("Bengali") art of the Pāla and Sena periods not less important than that recognised in the cases of Gandhāra and Gupta art. It would be interesting, he adds, if historians of Indian art, instead of considering the art of India proper, of Central Asia and of Insulinde each separately, were to deal with all three simultaneously, showing for each of the schools (Gandhāra, Mathurā, Gupta, Pāla and Sena) how their influences had spread to the shores of Further India.

M. J. Hackin gives a very brief survey, illustrated by 12 plates, of the more recent discoveries made by the French archaeological mission to Afghanistan at Kakrak and Bāmiān. M. Jean Przyluski discusses the symbolism of the animals sculptured between the wheels on the capital of the Aśoka column at Sāmāth with his wonted fertility of suggestion. The sculptures at Māmallapuram have inspired two short papers, one by Dr. Vogel suggesting a reminiscence of classical art, and the other by M. Jouveau-Dubreuil on the "Descent of the Ganges."

C. E. A. W. O.

JOURNAL OF THE BIHAR AND ORISSA RESEARCH SOCIETY, vol. XIX, 1933.

In the current year's volume of this journal we find a most important contribution by Mr. K. P. Jayaswal to the history of India during what has been described as the 'dark period,' viz., roughly, from 150 to 350 A.D., or the period intervening between the breaking up of the Kuṣāṇa ascendancy in the north and of the Āndhra dynasty in the south and the consolidation of the empire of the Imperial Guptas. By skilfully piecing together and interpreting in the light of numismatic, epigraphical and other evidence the scanty references to be found in certain Purāṇas, Mr. Jayaswal now fills this wide

gap with the dynasty of the Bhāraśivas (Nava Nāgas) of the (Yādava) stock of the Nāgas, who ruled at Padmāvati (Padam Pavāyā in the Gwalior State), Kāntipuri (Kantit, Mirzāpur dist.) and Mathurā, and the early Vākātakas, Vindhyaśakti, Pravarasena I and Rudrasena I. He contends that it was the Bhāraśivas, who had ten *advamedhas* to their credit, who freed the Ganges valley and northern India from the anti-Brahmanical Kuṣāṇas, re-establishing Hindu ascendancy and Brāhmaṇical culture on orthodox lines, and that the Vākātakas, who were Brāhmaṇs, but connected by marriage ties with the Nāgas (the son of Pravarasena I being married to the daughter of the Bhāraśiva Bhava Nāga) succeeded to their heritage and maintained it, until Samudra Gupta, by defeating and killing Rudrasena I, suppressed the dynasty, which, however, regained importance afterwards in the time of the later Vākātakas. He is also of opinion that the Imperial Guptas took over and carried on the administrative and cultural system of the Vākātakas.

The Bhāraśivas appear to have had capitals at Mathurā and Campāvati (which latter place Mr. Jayaswal equates with Bhāgalpur). The dynastic title Vākātaka Mr. Jayaswal takes to mean simply 'of Vākāta'; and this place, Vākāta, he finds in the ancient Brāhmaṇ village now known as Bāgāṭ, in the north of the Orchha State, some 6 miles east of Chirgāon in the Jhānsi district.

Among the numerous fresh ideas presented in this valuable monograph should be mentioned that of recognising the era of 248-49 A.D. (commencing 5 Sept. 248), sometimes called the Traikūṭaka or the Chedi Era, as the Vākātaka Era, established probably by Pravarasena I to commemorate the rise to power of the founder of the dynasty, his father Vindhyaśakti.

This bold, and in many respects brilliant, essay to elucidate one of the most puzzling periods of Indian history will be welcomed by all Indian scholars interested in the history of their country, as explaining many difficulties that have hitherto defied solution, and as forming a basis for further research, to be confirmed, modified or amplified as may be found necessary; and whether the main conclusions be accepted or not, recognition must be expressed of the wide research and remarkable aptitude for collating and interpreting scattered items of evidence shown by the author. As an example of this may be cited the contents of Appendix D, in which is discussed the evidential value of the exploration and finds at Bhitā, the important site to which attention was first directed—as in so many cases—by Sir Alexander Cunningham.

C. E. A. W. O.

NEW LIGHT ON CHARLES MASSON.

By FRANK E. ROSS.

Among explorers of Asia during the first half of the nineteenth century the name of Charles Masson is by no means the least noteworthy. Historians have noted his work and given him due credit—but have been unable to clear up the mooted question of his nationality. The recent discovery of the Masson MSS. in the India Office at London enables the author to reveal Masson's origin and to fill in several gaps in his career.

James Lewis, for such was Masson's real name, was born in Aldermanbury, Middlesex, England, on February 16, 1800. His father, George Lewis, of London, married Mary Hopcraft, of Northamptonshire, on March 6, 1799. George Lewis became a Freeman of the Needle Makers' Company in February 1799 and a Liveryman of that Company in November 1800.

In 1821 James Lewis enlisted in the British Army and embarked on board the *Dutchess of Athol*, January 17, 1822, for Bengal. While serving as a private soldier in the Bengal Artillery he attracted the especial notice of Major-General Hardwicke, commandant of that corps, who employed him in arranging the Hardwicke collection of zoological specimens. As a trooper in Captain Hyde's First Brigade of Horse Artillery Masson served in the siege of Bharatpur. Shortly thereafter he and a fellow trooper named Potter deserted, July 4, 1826, and went to the Panjāb.

Taking the name of Charles Masson, Lewis began a long and distinguished career of exploration and antiquarian research in Central Asia. British officials whom he encountered in his travels were told that his name was Masson and that he was a native of the State of Kentucky, U.S.A. Never thereafter (1826) did he use the name Lewis. His nationality was sometimes contraverted (*Asiatic Journal*, London, April 1841), but not authoritatively; officials of the East India Company kept their own counsel.

Traversing Rājputānā, Masson entered Bahāwalpur, journeyed to Peshāwar (1827), and through the Khaibar Pass on the high road to Kābul. From Kābul he went to Ghazni, where he interviewed Dost Muhammad Khān, Amir of Kābul. Proceeding to Qandahar, he made a remarkable journey to Shikarpur *via* Quetta and the Bolān Pass. He then visited the Panjāb, and finally voyaged to Persia *via* the Persian Gulf. At Bushire (1830) he prepared lengthy memoranda of his travels for the British Resident, printed in George W. Forrest, *Selections from the Travels and Journals preserved in the Bombay Secretariat*, Bombay, 1906, pp. 103-187.

Proceeding to Urmara, on the Makrān coast, Masson sustained himself by the practice of medicine, until his professional reputation declined, following an injudicious prescription of sea water for a purge. Travelling through Las Bela and eastern Balūchistān to Kalāt, he was the first white man to climb the heights of Chahiltan, near Quetta, whose misty legend he recorded.

During the next few years Masson engaged in archæological excavation and exploration in Afghānistān. By 1834 he had obtained many ancient coins, which he transferred to the Government of India for preservation in the East India Company's museum at London, in exchange for an allowance. Thus financed, he continued his work with notable success, which he described in articles and letters in the *Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal*, Calcutta, April, July, 1834, April 1835, January, March, September, November, 1836, January 1837 and in a valuable "Memoir on the Topes and Sepulchral Monuments of Afghanistan," printed in H. H. Wilson, *Ariana Antiqua: A Descriptive Account of the Antiquities and Coins of Afghanistan*, London, 1841, pp. 55-118. By 1837 the Masson collection of coins totalled between fifteen and twenty thousand. It "proved a veritable revelation of unknown kings and dynasties, and contributed enormously to our positive knowledge of Central Asian history" (Thomas H. Holdich, *The Gates of India*, London, 1910, page 394).

In 1834 Masson made his peace with the East India Company and became a political correspondent of the Government of India (*Parliamentary Papers, Indian Papers, No. 5, 1839, No. 131-II, pp. 19-22*; and Masson MSS.). The Governor-General of India recommended to the Home Authorities that a pardon for his desertion be extended to Masson "in the event of that individual's fulfilling the expectations which are entertained of him" (Bengal Secret Consultations, June 19, 1834).

In Kābul Masson collected information about Afghān affairs and forwarded it to Government *via* the Khaibar Pass and Captain C. M. Wade, British Political Agent at Ludhiāna. He remained in the Afghān capital until the failure of the Burnes mission, when he returned to India (1838). Burnes he considered a bungler, and he severely criticised the Afghān policy of Lord Auckland, the Governor-General. He resigned the employment that he had long felt to be "disagreeable," "hopeless and unprofitable," and denounced the service of the Government of India as "dishonourable" (*Narrative, post, 1842, III, 484, 486*).

During the First Afghān War Masson went to Balūchistān, intending to resume his explorations. He arrived at Kalāt shortly before an outbreak against the British occupation, and upon his return to Quetta he was arrested by Captain J. D. D. Bean, British Political Agent, on suspicion of being disloyal and of being a Russian spy (1840). He was treated with brutality, according to his own account. Little food was provided. Once he was given sheep's entrails, "a mess.....which any dog in Quetta might have claimed for his own" (*Narrative, post, 1843, pp. 259-260*). Upon his eventual release he returned to England.

In London, where he arrived in February 1842, Masson wrote a *Narrative of Various Journeys in Balochistan, Afghanistan, and the Panjab*, 3 volumes, London, 1842, and a *Narrative of a Journey to Kalūt.....and a Memoir on Eastern Balochistan*, London, 1843. The two works were combined and reprinted in 4 volumes, London, 1844. Masson also published *Legends of the Afghan Countries, in Verse, with Various Pieces, Original and Translated*, London, 1848, and read papers before the Royal Asiatic Society: "Narrative of an Excursion from Peshāwer to Shāh-Bāz Ghari" and "Illustration of the Route from Selucia to Apobatana, as given by Isidorus of Charax" (*Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society of Great Britain and Ireland*, London, volumes VIII, 1846, and XII, 1850).

Masson's work was peculiarly distinctive and valuable. A shrewd observer of all matters political, economic, scientific, and social, he took the role of an Afghān traveller, clad in native garments. He lived and travelled not with the chiefs but with the people, a manner never since duplicated in Afghānistān and a method which gives "a peculiar value" to his works. There is scarcely a place in the Kābul area which he did not visit and describe. Many of the names and events he mentioned were so unfamiliar to his contemporaries that he was called "fanciful" (*Calcutta Review*, August 1844, page 449). For many years his work remained unchecked, but was finally proven to be "marvellously accurate in geographical detail" (Holdich *supra*, page 348). Half a century later, after twice invading and occupying Afghānistān, the British authorities possessed no knowledge of the country that they could not have obtained from Masson (*Ibid.*, page 362). For fifteen years Masson was "an irreclaimable nomadic vagabond." His life was constantly in danger. Often he fell among thieves. Once he was stripped of clothes and money and left "destitute, a stranger in the centre of Asia....exposed....to notice, inquiry, ridicule, and insult" (*Narrative, supra, 1842, I, 309-10*). But if there were hardships, there were also consolations: occasionally Masson paused in his travels to comfort a lonely female in some far away corner of Asia (*Ibid.*, I, 375).

The Court of Directors of the East India Company indicated its approval of Masson's work by a donation of £500 (India Office Collection No. 97,534) and a pension of £100 per annum, beginning in January 1845 (Minutes of the Court of Directors, January 15, 1845). Upon Masson's death in 1853 the Court of Directors gave his widow a donation of £100. (*Ibid.*, March 15, 1854).

WISE SAYINGS OF NAND RISHI

BY PAṆDIT ANAND KOUL

(Continued from vol. LIX, p. 32)

Kāliyuga apazer dīṭhim tośān ;
Śāntēn handi ghari dyūṭhum paśun wāv.
Mahāzanan bharut bhatta dyūṭhum na pośān ;
Kozanan dyūṭhum myūṭh māv ta pulāv.
Pāz dīṭhim jath kōnan kaśān ;
Raza-hamsas runān dīṭhim kāv.

During this Iron Age I found liars prospering ;
 In the house of the pious I found grief born of poverty.
 I did not find the good getting full meals ;
 I found delicious mutton and curry being served to wicked people.
 I found hawks tearing out feathers from their own ears ;
 I found crows pecking at the swans.

Kaśīri pheryās andi andiy ;
Kānsi na hitum brānday nāv.
Jandas yēli hētsam karani pairwandiy,
Tēli lokav dupum Nandey nāv.
Mana yēli hyutum, kath gayam banday.
Bu na kēnh ta mē kyā nāv.
Ākhir kānh chu na kānsi hunduy—
Khēt zan tsalān prāpiun kāv.

I wandered round Kashmīr [doing no work] ;
 Nobody asked my name from the door-step.
 When I began to mend my ragged quilt (i.e., began to work),
 Then people called me by the name of Nand.
 When I remembered [God] in my mind, my speech stopped.
 I am nothing. What is my name ? (nothing).
 In the end there remains no one attached to any other—
 Just as crows fly away after eating the offering of food [so all depart from
 this world].

Khēv ti mūdiy, na khēv ti mūdiy.
Yēmi zuvi karinam ziv dēh nāv.
Yimau na khēv yim wanan rūdiy,
Timanay ada drāv Nandey nāv.

Having eaten food we die ; having fasted we die.
 This life called me soul and body,
 Those who fasted [and] those who lived in forests,
 They then were called by the name of Nand.

Koḍar phalis war-haji ganey
Pātsi-khaney kyāh dīma lat
Hutimatis bhatas worzi-raney—
Yiman pāntsan chē kuniy gat.

Grape-seed, a knotty block of wood,
 A linen quilt—why should I kick to press [and wash] it ?
 Boiled rice turned putrid, a remarried wife—
 These five are of the same nature.

Makka Madîn mana gwâr, nakha wathâ chay.

Haqraq ta tsak mâr, Sahaza kray hâviy tsëy.

Think in thy mind of Mecca [and] Medina ; this is the shortest way.

Turn to God, kill anger ; the Self will show thee [how to do rightly] an act.

Mari dup më kun " Zuva ! kyâ buwuy ?

Kënh doh tsë më sati âsay sây.

Za zani bechây sodâ wânas;

Su sâr ta pânas pânas gay."

The body spoke to me : " O soul ! what has happened to thee ?

Thou wert keeping company with me for some days.

Two persons sat in a shop of merchandise ;

When it was exhausted the two went away."

Mo gatsk Šekhas ta Pîras ta Mullas ;

Mo bësh gupan palani arkhoras satiy ;

Mo bësh masjidan, jangalan cilas ;

Dam hësh âts kandi Dayas satiy.

Do not go to Shaikh and priest and Mullâ ;

Do not feed the cattle on *arkhor* [leaves] ;

Do not shut thyself up in mosques [or] forests for 40 days [of lonely penance] ;

Enter thine own body with breath [controlled in communion] with God.

Mo mâz mâzas ta masas ta mînas ;

Sînuh kul bođiy šinas tal.

Nasaro ! zân thav Jân-Âfarînas ;

Ada ho ainas tsaliy mal.

Nafsâniyat chay nuqsân dînas,

Boviy na at zamînas phal.

Do not desire flesh-meat, wine and fish ;

The tree of thy chest will [otherwise] get buried under snow.

O Naşar ! keep acquaintance with the Creator of life ;

Then the dirt will be removed from thy mirror.

Selfishness is harmful to religion ;

This land [of selfishness] will not yield any produce. ¹

Note:—The play upon the three Persian letters, *sîn*, *shîn* and *ain*, is noticeable in this saying.

Pânay myâni tsîrivi ago !

Lâimay daga tay phulham na zâh.

Pânay myânio hâ mana šetho !

Doha khuta doha chay gani pothân.

O my body [that art like] a knotted block of apricot wood !

I gave thee strokes, [but] thou never wert worn out.

O my body [that art] sixty maunds in weight !

Thou art adding flesh every day.

Note:—A Kâshmirî *man* is equal to $\frac{1}{2}$ *ser*.

Phal dher trâvît mal dher viurum :

Kal budh ganeyam din kyâh râtay.

Tiy harda lûnam yi sonta wowum :

Sumbrit lagum pânas satiy.

Having left a heap of grain, I winnowed a heap of dirt ;
 My sense and understanding increased day and night.
 That I reaped in autumn which I sowed in spring ;
 Having gathered the harvest [good or bad], it remained with me.

Puz dapana kenh ti no chuney ;
Apuz dapana, táwan piyey.
Yi krit chi soruy wav ta lon—
Yeli kara wuv karay khasey.

By telling the truth nothing will be lost ;
 By telling an untruth there will be loss.
 This act is like sowing and reaping—
 When peas are sown, then peas will grow.

Rísi ásan nātan kresān
Nāhaqq rávruk dēn kyāva rát
Katanay waluk ; atha áy watān.
Woni kyā grasān chay Rísan zāt ?

The Rishis will pine to get meat.
 They wasted day and night for nothing
 They clad themselves [with cloth] without [the labour of] spinning ; they came
 away with their fists clenched (i.e., with money greedily collected).
 Now, what good feature is there in the nature of Rishis ?

Tsēd yud karak, soruy con.
Yi lāni ásiy ti anit diyí.
Tsa yud karak myon zi myon,
Ada anmutuy cáni atha niyí.

If thou hast patience, everything is thine.
 Whatever is in thy fate, that will be brought to thee.
 If thou sayest " It is mine ", " it is mine " (i.e., showest greed),
 Then whatever thou hast gathered will be wrested from thy hand.

Sarpas tsalzey astas khandas.
Sahas tsalzey krohas tám.
Wathawáras tsalzey waharas khandas.
At dēka-lānis tsalzi kut tám ?

A snake may be avoided by moving a cubit's length [from it].
 A tiger may be avoided by running away a couple of miles [from it].
 One may escape a devastation for a year.
 From Fate how long can one escape ?
 (There is no way of avoiding one's fate.)

Tíl trávit laši yus záley
Káyi kazul athan phak.
Ak khur wukhali ak khur návey
Púr pakit ta pachum tsak.

Anybody who, having discarded oil, burns blue pine
 Will get his body blackened with soot, and his hands will smell foul.
 [A man with] one foot on the bank and the other in the boat [will run the risk
 of being drowned].
 By walking towards the East (i.e., towards God) I left anger to the West
 (i.e., behind me).

Táthyō ! buñ tsa kor khasak ?
Kyāh bhaya pānuik āsak nāwey ?
Dunyāki sukhay kyāh ratsak ?
Tyut karith lagak moh tāpaney ;
Him zan galak, cakak ta pēk ;
Patō mīn zan lagak tāvey.

Beloved ! Why shouldst thou disembark ?
 What fear of the water is there to thee in the boat ?
 What will avail thee the pleasures of the world ?
 At length thou shalt be exposed to the burning heat of spiritual ignorance ;
 Thou shalt melt and thaw as snow does ;
 In the end thou shalt enter the frying pan like a fish.

Tsa chuk kunuy, nāv chuy lacha ;
Cāni kirti rust ak kachā ti nā.
Zanam zonum Pohnuy pachā.
Ahāra rust thavat machā ti nā.

Thou art One, [but] thy names are a lakh [in number] ;
 There is not a blade of grass without (i.e., that does not sing) Thy praise.
 This life I found [as short as] a fortnight of the month of Poh (December-
 January).
 Thou hast not left even a fly without food.

Tshānjām tran bhavanān biyi dāsi deśan ;
Neb ta nīśān lubmas na kuney.
Pritshām ada sādhan biyi tapa riśan ;
Tim ti būzit lajiyay rivaney.
Dab yēli ditum rāgan ta viśiyan,
Ada Suy mē labum pānas nīsey.

I searched Him in the three worlds and ten directions ;
 I could not get a clue or a glimpse of Him anywhere.
 I then inquired from Saints and Fishes performing penances ;
 They too began to weep on hearing it.
 When I gave up desires and passions,
 Then I found Him near myself.

Yahay kand zāyi ta yahay kand āsey ;
Zēt pān wolum tula.
Jachām juryām hunari sāsey ;
At na hār lajim mula.
Gom bhangī andar natsun gub gom śwāsay ;
Gayim kāvan donta tsūran pula.

This body was born and this body will be [in future births] ;
 By taking birth I degraded myself.
 I strove [and] tried by a thousand accomplishments ;
 It did not cost me a shell.
 It became like dancing in a plantation of hemp (i.e., useless), and my breath
 became heavy ;
 It happened as if crows separated and thieves united.

Yamikuy dâr tamikuy pon ;
Timan don wapun makh.
Nâr gos tshêta ta kâr sapun.
Tati upadân Val ta athan phak.

Whence the timber, thence the wedge (i.e., both are of one and the same nature,
 the latter helping to split the former) ;
 With these two, the axe was furnished with a handle (to cut the wood itself).
 The fire got extinguished, and the thing was done (i.e., the split wood was all
 burnt).
 There rubies are found, and a bad smell sticks to the hands.

Yemi vânsi sandhyâ, tapasyâ kar na ;
Mîn ta mâmas yas tsâpana âv,
Kyâh prov tami utam kula zêna ?
Tamis hâ sobi na Brahman nâv.

He who did not perform *sandhyâ* [and] austere penances throughout his life ;
 He who could chew meat and fish,
 What did he gain by being born in a holy family ?
 He does not deserve to be called a Brâhman.

Yênan vêna ta wanan laši ;
Kanan lugum pišun wâv.
Tsalit âyâs panani deši
Dêva kuni nerêm riši nâv.
Ati me kuṭhêv tatiki niši
Rišan ti kyâhtâm dušan âv.

Mentha is growing on the banks of rivulets, and blue-pine in the forests ;
 The wind is playing in my ears.
 I ran away from my native place
 So that I might be called ' Rishi.'
 Here I fared worse than there ;
 Something wrong has taken hold of the Rishis.

Yim andra śuda darśan galiy,
Tim nêbra zariy ta kaliy chiy ;
Tim toha nâra drây śihliy,
Ada timay la'l mulaliy chiy.

Those who melt inwardly by pure vision,
 They are outwardly deaf and dumb ;
 They came out cool from a fire of chaff,
 They, then, alone are precious rubies.

NOTE ON A STONE IMAGE OF AGNI, THE GOD OF FIRE, IN THE POSSESSION OF SIR ERIC GEDDES.

BY J. PH. VOGEL, PH. D.

*viśaṃ rājānam adbhutam
adhyakṣaṃ dharmanām imam
Agnim īle.—Rgveda VIII, 43, 24.
“ Of settled tribes the wondrous king,
The warden of eternal laws,
Agni I praise.”*

In the summer of 1932 Sir John Marshall drew my attention to a piece of Indian sculpture belonging to Sir Eric Geddes, and, with the owner's permission, afforded me a welcome opportunity to inspect the original, which is preserved at the latter's country seat, Albourne Place, near Hassocks. I here wish to record my indebtedness to Sir Eric Geddes for kindly allowing me to examine the sculpture in question and to make use of it for publication purposes. The excellent photograph reproduced here (Plate I) I also owe to his courtesy. The sculpture is here published for the first time.

According to the information kindly supplied by Sir Eric it must have been about the year 1898 that the sculpture was presented to him by the well-known numismatist, Mr. H. Nelson Wright, I.C.S. (ret.). Concerning the locality from which it originates, Mr. Wright has been good enough to supply me with the following particulars in a letter dated the 10th October 1932:

“ I came across it when I was camping as joint Magistrate in the Sirathu and Manjhanpur Tahsils of Allahabad District, in the cold weather of '94-'95 or '95-'96. I can't remember the exact findspot, but think it was near Kara in Sirathu Tahsil, though it may have been near Kosam (Kausambi) in Manjhanpur. I found it lying about in a village, and negotiated for its purchase.”

The circumstance that the sculpture apparently comes from Kosam or from a place near by adds greatly to its interest. Thanks to the researches of Rai Bahadur D. R. Sahni, the present Director-General of Archaeology in India, the identity of Kosam with the famous town of Kauśāmbī, first proposed by Sir Alexander Cunningham, may now be considered as established.¹ I presume that Kara in Sirathu tahsil is the fort of Kaṛā, where the inscription was found which has contributed to the identification.

The stone sculpture, which on account of its style may be attributed to the 11th century represents Agni², the Vedic God of Fire. The central figure is characterized as the Fire-god by the oval of flames surrounding his head after the manner of a halo. The goat, too, standing on the right hand side of the figure, is the usual vehicle of the divinity in question. The god has a pointed beard, a moustache, elongated ears and a high head-dress, the matted hair being gathered on the top of the head in the form of a top-knot (Sanskrit *jaṭā*). This is still a well-known feature of ascetics in the India of to-day. He is dressed in a single garment, the well-known Indian *dhōṭī*, which leaves the upper part of the body bare.

The abdominal development is another noticeable and rather conspicuous feature not uncommon among the gods of the Hindu pantheon. In connexion with such deities as Kubera, the god of wealth, and Gaṇeśa, who is essentially a god of good luck, it is a characteristic requiring no further explanation. In the case of a god like Agni it is not so easy to explain. It may, however, be pointed out that, strange as it may seem, corpulency is sometimes associated in Indian iconography both with asceticism and wisdom.

¹ Cf. *Annual Bibliography of Indian Archaeology for the year 1926* (Leyden 1928), pp. 10-12.

² Sanskrit *agni(s)* “fire”, the same word as Latin *ignis*. The sculpture is made of grayish limestone. It measures 2 ft. 5 in. in height and 1 ft. 4 in. in width. The central figure is 1 ft. 9 in. high.



Image of Agni in the possession of Sir Eric Geddes

The ornaments worn by Agni are less compatible with the Indian type of the ascetic or *ṛshi*. But they are inseparable from royalty. There exists a close relationship, almost amounting to an identity, between gods and kings. The sculptor, while adorning his deity with the combined attributes of the *rāja* and the *ṛshi*, has united in him the types of these two categories which are considered supreme in Hindu society.

The prominent abdomen to which we have called attention is supported by a girdle (Sanskrit *mekhalā*). Besides this, we notice a broad decorated band passing over the left shoulder and under the right arm. The meaning of this object is not very clear. At first sight it might be taken to represent the sacrificial cord or *janeo* (Sanskrit *yajñopavīta*), which is the characteristic emblem of the members of the Brāhmaṇa caste. The position of the band in question would agree with this assumption, but not its shape.

The ornaments to which we have referred consist of a necklace, somewhat defaced in front, a long garland hanging down from the left shoulder and thrown over the right hip, and bracelets both on the upper part of the arms and round the left wrist.

The right arm, which is broken off above the elbow, was probably raised in the attitude of protection³. At any rate, the right hand did not rest upon the body, as there is no trace of a break on the latter. The hand may have held a rosary or *akṣamālā* which is sometimes associated with Agni images. The left hand holds a vessel.

The various figures of considerably smaller size which appear grouped round the deity in the centre, are no less curious than the main personage, and, partly at least, more puzzling. The goat, to which we have had occasion to refer, is the ordinary hireine animal, so common in India, with its beard, drooping ears, and small, slightly curved horns. It bears an ornamental necklace; its hind-quarters are concealed behind the legs of its master and were apparently left unfinished by the sculptor.

On the left side of Agni and under his left hand there is the figure of a male worshipper clad in a *dhotī* and wearing the usual ornaments. His high head-dress is somewhat reminiscent of Bharhut sculpture, although there can hardly be any connexion, considering that the present sculpture must be more than a thousand years later in date. The worshipper is shown with his hands raised and joined in the gesture of adoration. He is purely human in appearance and evidently represents a human devotee of the god, possibly the individual to whose piety the sculpture owes its existence.

The group which we have described so far is flanked by two goat-headed attendants, each of them holding an indeterminate object in his raised right hand, whereas the left is placed on the hip. These satellites wear a *dhotī* and arm-rings on the upper arms and round the wrists.

The remaining portion of the slab is adorned with six figures or groups of figures symmetrically arranged on both sides of the central image. There evidently exists a close connexion between the four single figures, all of which are shown in a slightly bent position, as if doing obeisance to the god Agni. The two figures above have their hair tied into a knot on the nape of the neck.

The left hand figure holds with both hands, two objects, apparently a sacrificial ladle (Sanskrit *śruc-* or *śruva-*) and a vessel of ghee(?) In the case of the corresponding figure on the right these objects are broken and no longer recognisable. Both these personages wear a broad band over the shoulder⁴. The other pair of worshipping figures, somewhat smaller in size, is placed on both sides of the Fire-god about the height of his waist. A very remark-

3 The technical name of this gesture (*mudrā*) in Indian iconography is *abhaya-mudrā* (lit. the gesture of 'no-danger').

4 In the case of the right hand figure it is laid over the left shoulder, whereas the other figure wears it over the right shoulder. In both instances it passes under the right arm.

able feature of the figurine near Agni's left arm is the position of the hands which are crossed. Can it be the attitude adopted by the Indian devotee when offering an oblation to the manes or ancestral spirits (Sanskrit *pitaras*, lit., 'fathers')⁵? Judging from this detail, we may perhaps conclude that the four figures last described are sacrificers, possibly representing various forms of the Vedic sacrifice, that to the manes coming last. This assumption agrees very well with the chief function of Agni as god of the sacrifice.

Between the two sets of worshippers we notice two groups each representing an emaciated bearded person seated on a solid stool or bench, and apparently addressing or teaching a youthful person sitting at his feet. The teacher with his hair tied in a top-knot has the appearance of an ascetic. Round his knees and waist we see the strip of cloth (*paryāṅka*) still used by Indian ascetics of the present day. In sculpture it is usually associated with the cross-legged posture.

The meaning of these two groups is not very clear, but it deserves notice that the stool or bench on which the gaunt personage is seated somewhat resembles the Vedic altar (*vedi*), which is described as being slender in the middle. Hence a maiden with a slender waist is compared by Indian poets to such an altar! Can it be that the ascetic seated on the bench is Agni again as the sacrificial fire and at the same time the teacher of wisdom?

In order to account for the characteristics of the image described above, it will be necessary to give a sketch of the Indian Fire-god according to Vedic and epic literature.

"The chief terrestrial deity [of Vedic mythology] is Agni, being naturally of primary importance as the personification of the sacrificial fire, which is the centre of the ritual poetry of the Veda. Next to Indra he is the most prominent of the Vedic gods. He is celebrated in at least 200 hymns of the Rg-Veda [the whole collection consisting of some 1000 hymns], and in several besides he is invoked conjointly with other deities."⁶

Though essentially a terrestrial god, Agni is sometimes said to appertain likewise to the other two spheres of the Universe. For he is identified both with Sūrya, the Sun-god, and with lightning. He is said to be born in the highest heaven, although as the Fire of Sacrifice he is produced by the rubbing together of the two fire-sticks (*araṇi*), which are considered to be his parents. He is the kinsman of man, "more closely connected with human life than any other god."⁷ He is both the spark of vitality and the goblin-slayer (*rakṣo-han*). But his chief function is that of transmitting, in the form of the sacrificial fire, the oblation of the worshippers to the gods. Hence Agni is considered to be "the divine counterpart of the earthly priesthood."⁸ He is both the priest and the seer.

In the *Rgveda* "the anthropomorphism of his physical appearance is only rudimentary, his bodily parts having a clear reference to the phenomena of terrestrial fire, mainly in its sacrificial aspects."⁹ Hence the epithets applied to Agni in the earliest Veda, such as "butter-backed," "butter-faced," "seven-tongued," "thousand-eyed," do not find expression in later iconography. Even the epithet "flame-haired" does not really apply to the sculptural representation, which shows the flame as quite distinct from Agni's hair

5 According to the Vedic ritual the worship of the ancestors requires acts opposed to those practised in the cult of the gods. In the former the circumambulation to the left is prescribed (*prasavya*), in the latter that to the right (*pradakṣiṇa*).

6 A. A. Macdonell, *Vedic Mythology*, p. 88.

7 *Ibid.* p. 95.

8 *Ibid.* p. 96.

9 *Ibid.* p. 88.

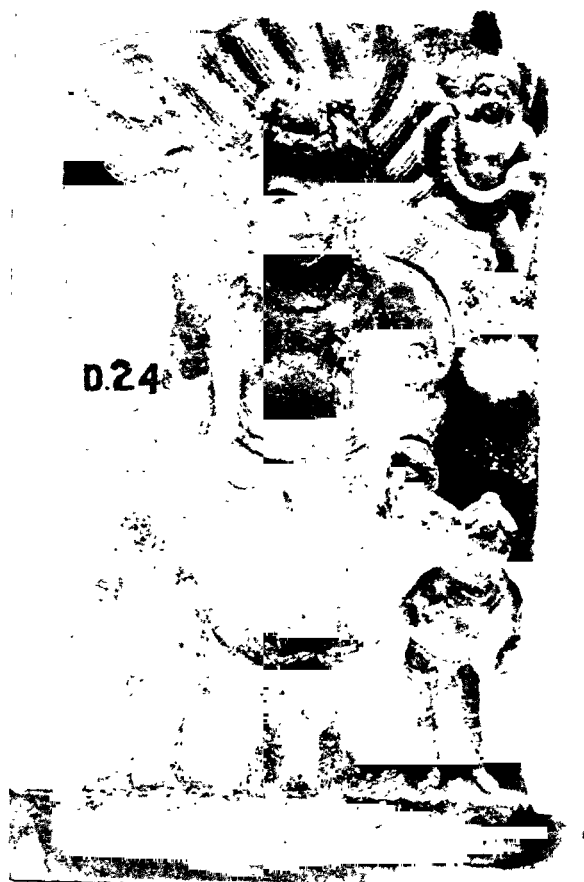


Fig. a. Figure of Agni Mathurā Museum, No. D. 24



Fig. b. Image of Agni from Mathurā Lucknow Museum, No. T. 123.



Fig. c. Image of Agni. British Museum.



Fig. d. Image of Agni. British Museum.

and surrounding his head after the manner of a halo. The character, however, of Agni as the priest among the gods is clearly expressed in sculpture by his general appearance and attributes.

In the *Rgveda*, the god Agni is likened to, and sometimes identified with, various animals, particularly with a bull, a steed and a winged bird. But it is in the Great Epic that he appears as a goat. The explanation given by the American savant, the late Professor E. Washburn Hopkins is that Agni "is fond of women and is an adulterer, and for these reasons, he is presented as a goat".¹⁰ Another explanation which I venture to advance is that up to the present day the he-goat and the ram are the animals generally used as victims in the animal sacrifice, the cow being excluded owing to its sacred character, and the pig on account of its being regarded as unclean. However this may be, the fact remains that in Hindu iconography the goat is both the cognizance and the vehicle of Agni. In the *Mahābhārata* Agni is called goat-faced (*chāgavaktra*). This is of interest in connexion with the two goat-headed satellites in our sculpture.

Considering the great importance of Agni in the Vedic religion, it may at first seem surprising that images of the Fire-god are so very rare.

In the Calcutta Museum, which contains by far the largest collection of Indian sculptures, I can find only one specimen of an Agni image. It is No. 3914 which was described by Dr. Theodor Bloch as "a statue of Agni, riding on a ram (*meṣa*), with two hands, one of which holds a rosary and the other a *kamaṇḍalu* [i.e., a gourd used as a water-pot.] Agni is represented as a corpulent dwarf, with a beard, and flames all around his body (From Bihar). 1'8½" by 11½" ".¹¹

The Mathurā (Muttra) Museum, too, contains only one example of an Agni figure (Plate II a).¹² Here Agni has the usual pointed beard and halo of flames. He stands between two miniature attendants, one of whom has a goat's head. The upper corners of the sculpture are occupied by two garland-carriers hovering in the air. It is a curious circumstance that this image (height 2'7"), before being brought to the Museum, used to be worshipped by the Hindu villagers as the divine seer Nārada. On account of its style it may be assigned to the later Gupta period.

In the Indian collection of the British Museum I noticed two late medieval reliefs of blue stone representing Agni, which both belong to the Bridge Collection (Plate II c. d). In both these sculptures the Fire-god is seated on a lotus-throne. His raised right hand holds a rosary; his left, resting on the left knee, holds a vessel of some kind. He is bearded; his head is surrounded by flames, and a goat is shown lying at his feet.

What I believe to be the earliest known image of Agni, is a sculpture in the Lucknow Museum (Plate II b), which seems to have been excavated by Dr. Führer and which was subsequently published by Mr. Vincent A. Smith.¹³ It is made of red sandstone and measures 2'8" in height. Unfortunately it is badly damaged, the face, arms and legs being broken. But there can be little doubt that it must belong to the Kuṣāṇa period (circa 50—250 A.D.)

10 E. Washburn Hopkins, *Epic Mythology*, p. 103.

11 Theodor Bloch, *Supplement Catalogue of the Archaeological Collections in the Indian Museum Calcutta*, 1911, p. 90.

12 J. Ph. Vogel, *Catalogue of the Archaeological Museum at Mathurā*, p. 99. No. D24. Cf. Brindava C. Bhattacharya, *Indian Images*, pp. 27f.

13 V. A. Smith, *The Jain Stūpa and other Antiquities of Mathurā*. Allahabad, 1901, p. 44, pl. LXXXVIII. The museum number is J 123.

Dr. Führer called this image "a statue of Vardhamāna surmounted by the Lambent Flame of Sanctity," whereas Mr. Smith rejects this identification and calls it a "Statue of a boy with aureole of flames." On account of this aureole of flames, the corpulence of the figure and its hair-dress, I feel inclined to interpret it as an early representation of Agni.

Another Agni image in the Lucknow Museum (Plate III *a*) shows the Fire-god seated on a *padmāsana* with his goat lying in front of him. This very mediocre piece of sculpture, which measures 2'5" by 1'7", came from Rudrapur in the Gorakhpur district, and seems to belong to the medieval period.¹⁴

In this connexion we may also draw attention to a fragmentary medieval sculpture in the Lucknow Museum (no. 0 266) which was acquired from Śivadvāra, a village in the Mirzāpur district of the United Provinces (Plate III *b*). It shows two groups of attendant figures, placed the one above the other. A goat-headed attendant is to be seen in the lower group, while the upper group consists of two emaciated male personages, evidently ascetics, standing with the upper part of the body slightly bent forward and arms held straight down in front of them, crossed at the wrists. On account of these attendants there can be little doubt that the main figure, which is entirely lost, must have represented Agni.

Finally it should be remembered that certain Pañcāla copper coins belonging to the kings Agnimitra and Bhūmimitra bear the effigy of a standing male figure with a five-fold crest, which has been explained as a representation of the Fire-god Agni. Recently, however, Madame E. Bazin-Foucher has proposed another interpretation.¹⁵ According to her the figure in question is a Nāga, or more correctly the Nāga who according to a Buddhist legend related in the *Divyāvadāna* was the tutelar genius of Northern Pañcāla. The new identification seems very acceptable, and the images of Agni which are reproduced here may be said to confirm it in so far that none of them bears a five-fold crest like the one which characterizes the figure on the coins.

With regard to the scarcity of Agni images, it should be borne in mind that Hinduism, although derived from the Vedic religion, has a pantheon very different from that of the Vedic hymns. In Hinduism the supreme deities are Viṣṇu and Śiva. The ancient Fire-god Agni has lost the position which he held in Vedic times. No temples are dedicated to him, and his images are extremely rare.

Although his fundamental character is to be derived from the Vedas, we shall have to turn to the Epics and Purāṇas to find a description of his characteristics corresponding to those of the images before us. Thus we find in the *Matsya-purāṇa* an account of Agni which answers to our sculpture in almost every detail. It runs: "Let one make the god provided with the sacrificial cord and having a long beard, with a gourd (*kamaṇḍalu*) in the left hand and a rosary in the right, provided with a canopy of flames, and with a goat as vehicle, blazing and standing in the fire-pit (*kuṇḍa*) and provided with seven flames on his head."¹⁶

Other references to Agni from the *Purāṇas* or allied sources which will help to elucidate the doubtful points will be extremely welcome.

14 Cf. B. C. Bhattacharya, *Indian Images*, plate XVII.

15 *Études d'orientalisme publiées par le Musée Guimet à la mémoire de Raymonde Linossier*, Paris, 1932. Vol. I, pp. 145-153.

16 Quoted by B. C. Bhattacharya, *op. cit.*, p. 27, no. 4.



Fig. 6. Relief forming part of the background of an image of Agni.
Early medieval period. (From Śivadvāra, district Mirzāpur.)
Lucknow Museum. No. O 266.

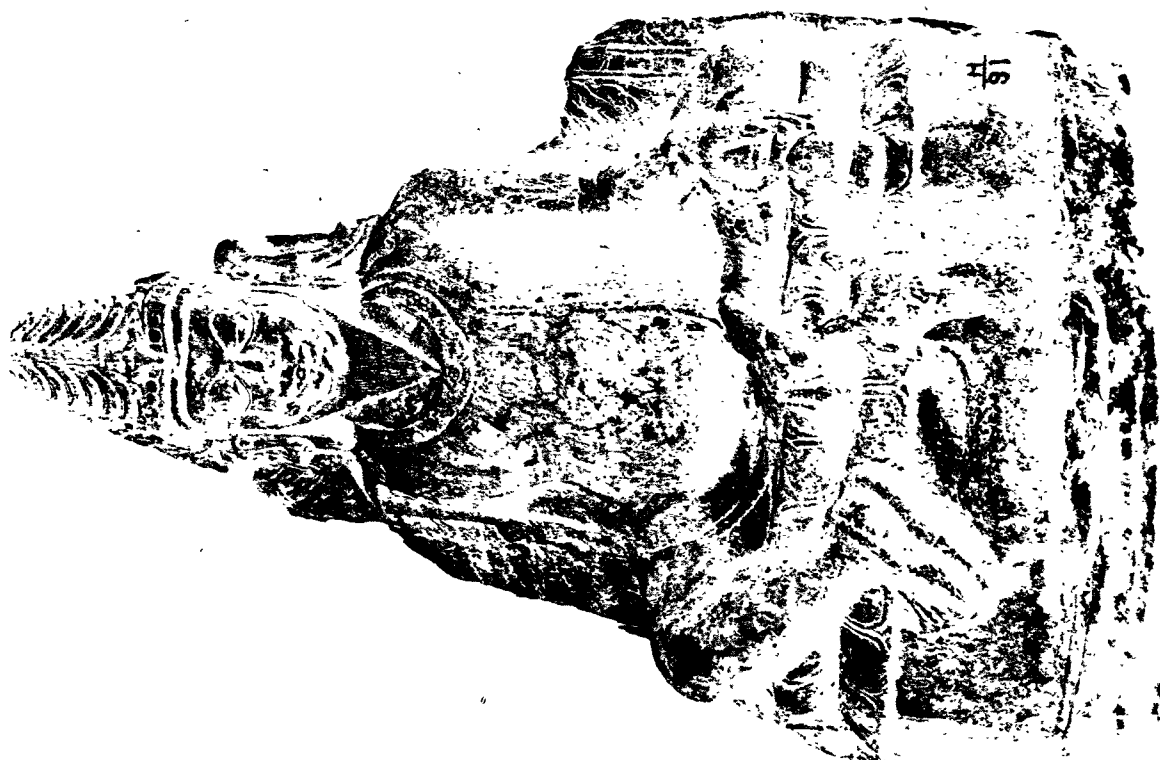


Fig. 7. Image of Agni of bluish basalt. (From Rudrapur, district
Gorakhpur.) Lucknow Museum. No. H. 91.

THE SUMERIAN SACAEA AND ITS INDIAN FORM.

BY B. C. MAZUMDAR.

As illustrating the historical significance of the two Hindu social customs noticed in the following paragraphs, I would refer particularly to Professor S. Langdon's paper on "The Babylonian and Persian Sacaea" in the January 1924 issue of the *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society*.

I begin with a description of the highly interesting custom of yearly rejuvenating, or rather of securing longevity to the Râja or the ruling prince by observing a magical ceremony, which obtains in the Chauhân ruling houses of Sonpur and Patna in western Orissa. How very ancient this custom is, and how deeply it is connected with what prevailed once in olden days in Persia, should be considered.

On the *Daśahrâ* day, which falls on the tenth lunar *tithi* of the bright fortnight of the lunar month of Âśvin at the end of the Devî Pûjâ session of the season, a *purohit* or Brâhman priest in the employment of the Râj family goes out riding a pony with a retinue of men selected for the purpose, declaring that he has become the ruler of the territory. The crowd in the streets hails him mockingly as the Râja, and the priest on the back of the pony, to demonstrate his ruling authority, imposes fines of some easily recoverable amount on this man and that man, according to a pre-arranged method. The mock Râja of the hour then returns to the Râj palace to doff his authority at a sacrificial altar, being jeered at by the crowd when thus returning; when the ceremony is over, the real Râja, or ruling prince, puts on his ceremonial dress and sits upon the Râj *gaddî* to accept tribute of honour from a large number of representative subjects of the State. That the purpose of this ceremony is to give a fresh lease of life to the ruler in a mysterious, magical way will, I anticipate, be very clear when the ceremony is compared with the old western Asiatic festival of *Sacaea*.

It may be noted here that the prehistoric Sumerians began their year in the autumn, when the festival of giving fresh life to the king bearing resemblance to the festival of the Chauhân rulers, had to be celebrated. Once in ancient India also the New Year commenced in the autumn. The term *varṣa* meaning a year, is derived from the word *varṣa*, 'rain', and the New Year was once calculated as commencing with the asterism of *Āṣvini* at the end of the season of rain. When the New Year began in the autumn, the first two months constituting that season were named *Īśa* and *Īrja*; this calculation of the autumn season by *Īśa* (*Āśvin*) and *Īrja* (*Kārtik*) still prevails in India.

It was in autumn that the New Year festival was celebrated by the Sumerians, when there was a carnival of the 'Lord of Misrule,' and men and women were free to indulge in what may be said to be far from moral practices. At the end of this festival, lasting from five to six days, the king had to appear before the priest in a temple and after submitting to some mock blows from the priest, received from him his royal garments and other insignia, to reign over his kingdom afresh. During the five or six days of the festival a pseudo-king was set up; he moved about in the streets with a merry retinue, defying all rules of social decorum and decency. Professor Langdon gives us the report of Strabo and others that this pseudo-king, or 'King of Misrule' was scourged and hanged on the final day of the festive session, and on the death of that scapegoat, who carried away the evils besetting the king, the latter, as I have mentioned, got a fresh lease of life to rule his kingdom. With a distinct object in view, I note here that I mentioned many years ago in my paper on the goddess Durgâ,¹ that on the 3rd or *navamî* day of the *pûjâ* singing of obscene songs was once in vogue in Bengal.

Now it is very important to note that at a later period, many centuries before the Christian era, the time for the commencement of the New Year in Babylon and Assyria was fixed at the commencement of the spring season. Even when this change in the calculation of the year was effected the old time reckoning of the year from the first day of the autumn

¹ *J.R.A.S.*, 1906, p. 355.

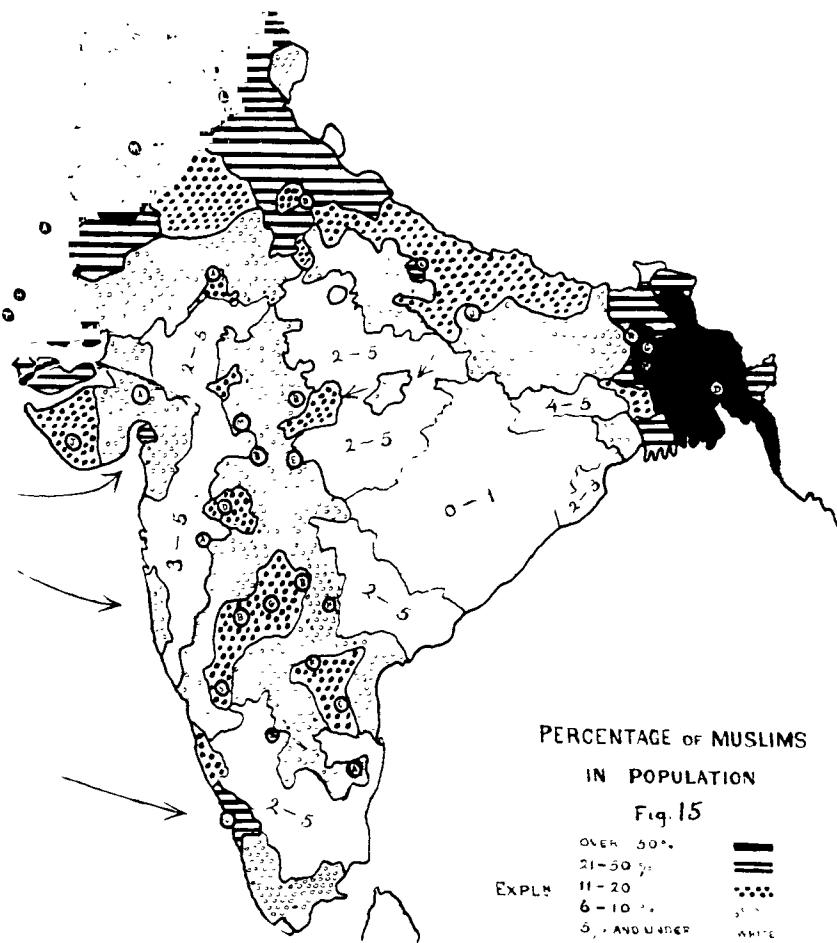
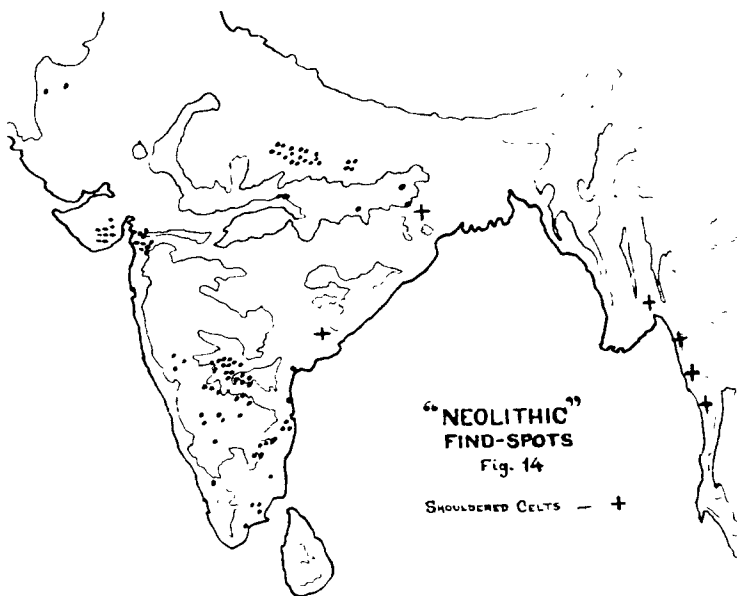
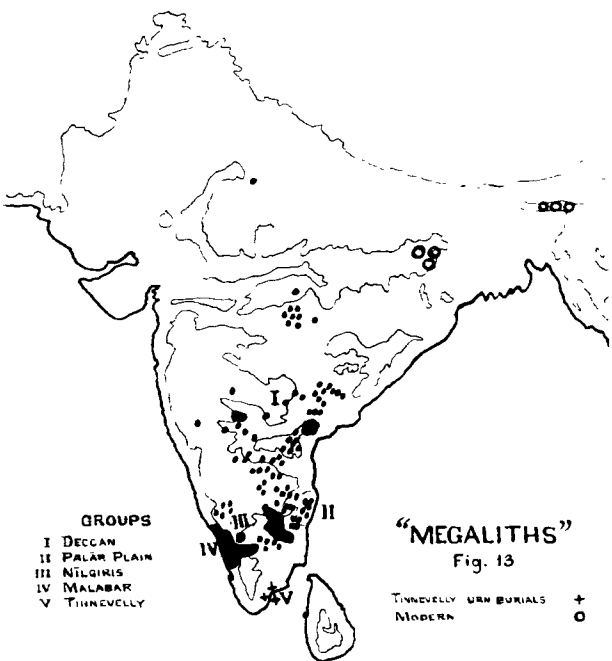
season did not fall into disuse, and in the calendar two New Year's days were set down, one in the autumn and another in the spring, and on both those days the carnival referred to was celebrated. It is also of importance to note that this carnival fixed for celebration in the spring passed from Babylonia into Persia under the patronage of Anaitis or Anâhita.

As the Persian form of celebrating the carnival in the spring strongly resembles our Indian spring festival called *Holi*, I mention here the widely known fact that our *saṃvat* era begins in the month of *Caitra*, which is the *Madhu* month, or the first month of the vernal (*mādhava*) season. It need hardly be stated that this reckoning of the New Year from the spring came into vogue in India very long ago, though the term *saṃvat* was not applied to the era to start with.

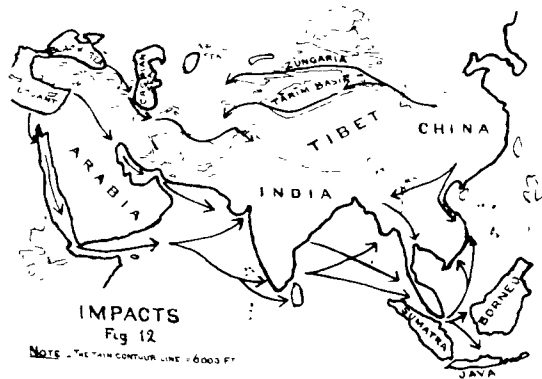
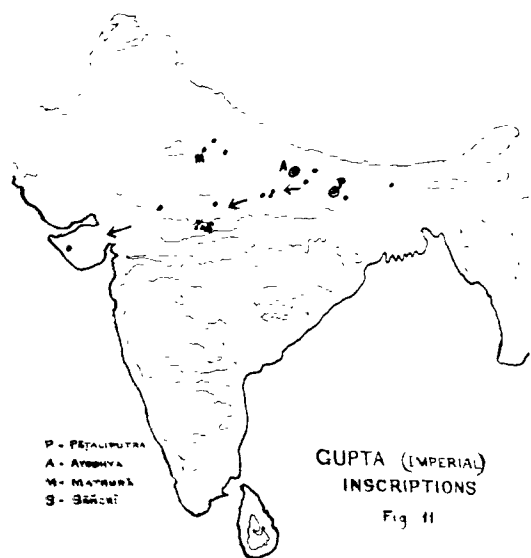
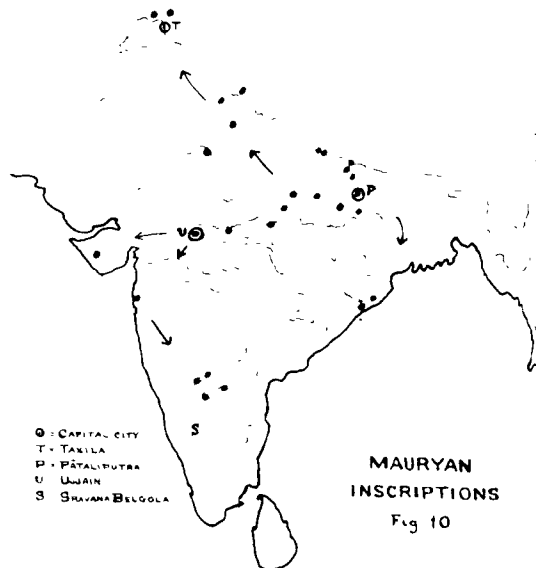
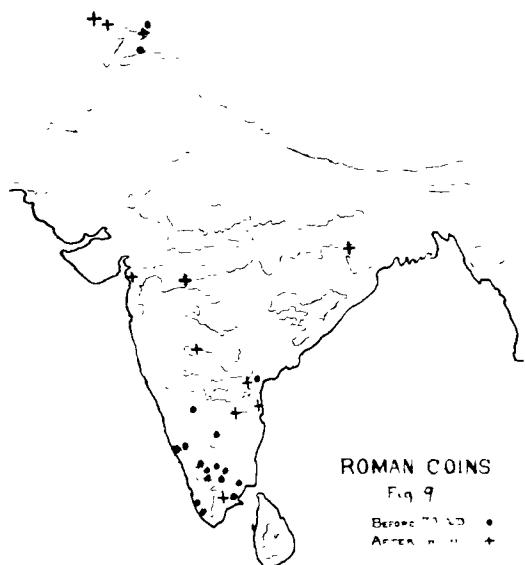
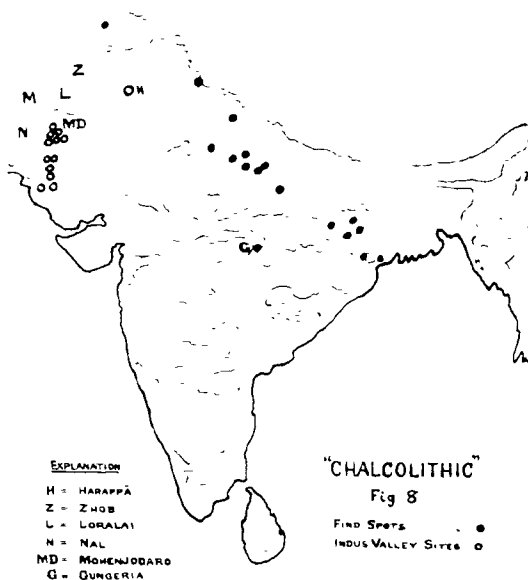
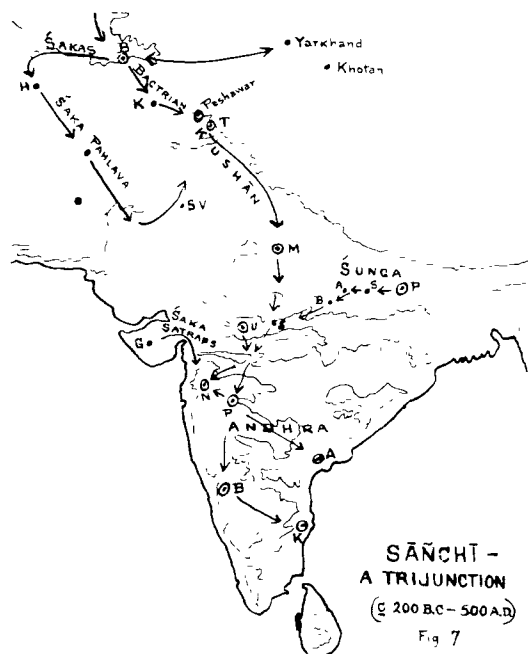
The old Persian way of observing the *Sacaea* may now be briefly described. When this carnival was celebrated in the spring, the king of the realm only nominally, or rather for appearance sake as observing the rules of the festival, ceased to rule temporarily, and a fool was chosen for the festive occasion as the bogus king. This bogus king, as Professor Langdon informs us, rode naked upon a horse, holding a fan and complaining of the heat. He was escorted by the king's servants and demanded tribute from everybody. Pots of reddened water were carried, with which all were bespattered, and the crowds in the streets enjoyed the fun very much. The people in general, men and women alike, are reported to have enjoyed these days in merry-making and in singing obscene songs, forgetting temporarily the usual moral habits of society. The fool, or bogus king, was bespattered with filth by the people, but he ceased to play the fool at the end of the carnival, and the real king re-assumed his duties in a ceremonial manner.

We all very clearly see how our *Holi* festival agrees with the *Sacaea* in several details. In many villages in Bengal the practice still survives that a fool is dressed up in a funny fashion and is carried on a litter through the streets, the assembled crowd singing obscene songs and sprinkling reddened water on one another. This fool is called in Bengal *Holir Râja*, or the king of the *Holi* festival. It may also be mentioned here that in connection with the *Holi* festival in Bengal there is a ceremony called *medâpoḍâ* in which there is the symbolical burning in a hut of a lamb, an effigy of a lamb being made of rice paste. Another practice observed in many districts of Bengal should also be noticed. To celebrate the *Holi* festival an earthen *mañca* is erected with three graduated floors, the top story being made the smallest. Access to the top floor, on which the idol of the presiding deity is seated for purpose of worship, is obtained by a winding staircase. The whole of this earthen *mañca* looks almost like a Babylonian *zikkurat* in external appearance. It is well-known how throughout northern India the men go along the streets, sprinkling reddened water on everybody, and how they make indecent jokes at the womenfolk assembled by the roadside as onlookers. How there should be such a family resemblance between customs of Western Asia and of India, is not easy to determine.

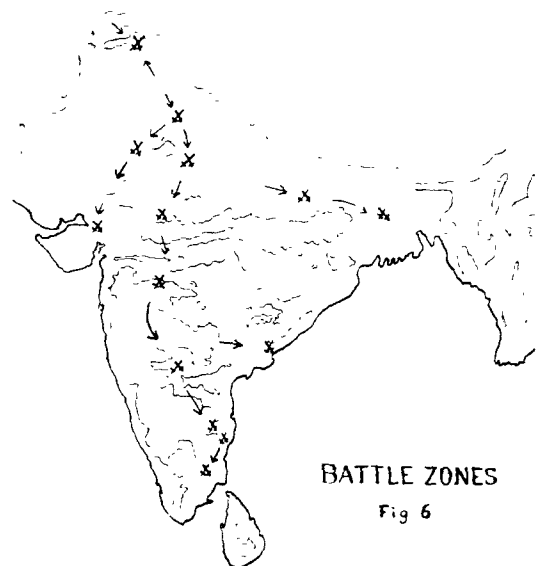
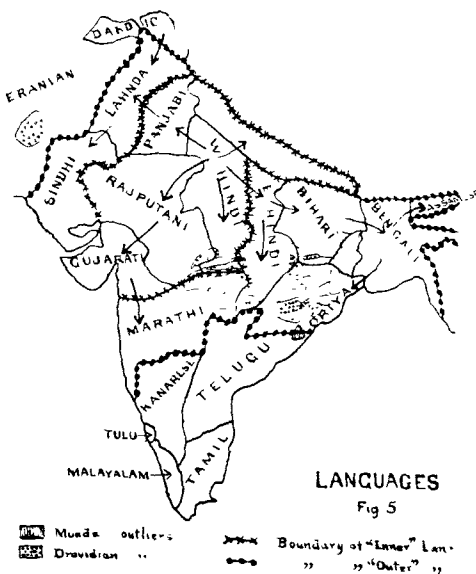
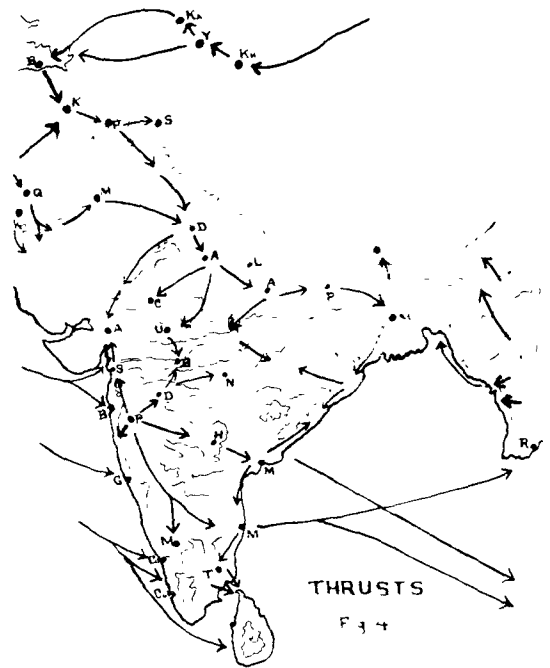
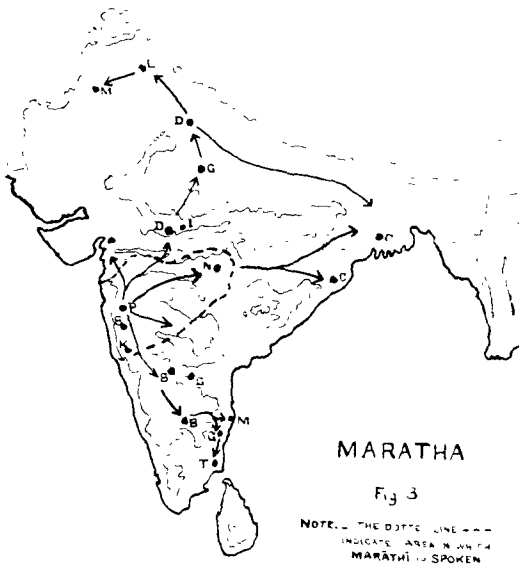
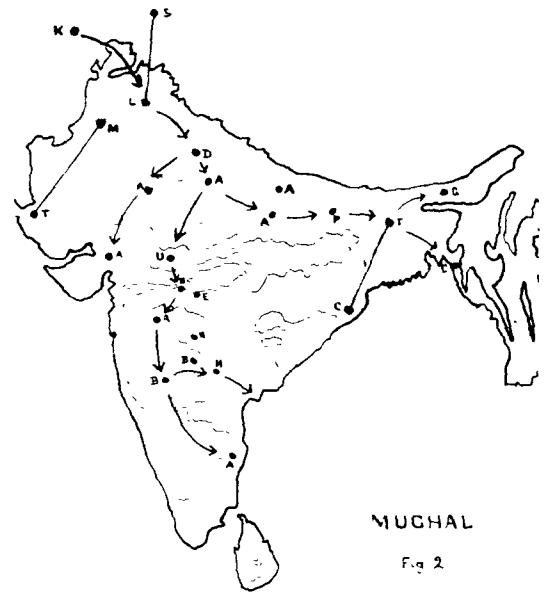
Now it has to be carefully noted that of our *Holi* festival, which is so widely popular all over India, we get absolutely no trace either in the Vedic literature, or in the sacred texts of pre-Purânic days. It cannot be that this festival of such wide popularity came suddenly into existence at some past time when the Purânic cults and practices commenced to come into force. Even though our very early religious works do not recognise it, we cannot but presume, looking to the existence of it in one form or another in all the provinces of India, that the festival with its main features must have been in vogue in India among the common people, while the Rishis and their orthodox successors were not disposed to recognise such vulgar rites. Independent growth of the festival in India and in Mesopotamia and Persia cannot be thought of, since the details are such as could not possibly originate in that manner. What relation, ethnic or cultural, subsisted in the remote past between India and parts of Western Asia, is a matter for serious research in the interest of the true history of our country. Attention need hardly be called to the importance to this inquiry of the results of the recent excavations at Harappâ and Mohenjodaro and of Sir Aurel Stein's explorations between the Indus Valley and the Persian Gulf. I do not myself draw any inference from the facts set out above, but leave the question to scholars competent to deal with it.



Note: The contour lines=1500ft.



Note:--The contour lines (except in case of Fig. 12)=1500ft.



Note:—The contour line=1500ft.

GEOGRAPHICAL FACTORS IN INDIAN ARCHÆOLOGY.

By F. J. RICHARDS, M.A.

A trip to India raises two problems : (I) how to get there, and (II) what to do when you arrive.

I. Of the routes to India I need say little ; but an understanding of them is vital to problems of Indian archæology. From Europe you can go by ship (*a*) by the Red Sea, (*b*) by the Persian Gulf or (*c*) you can walk, if you prefer, through Persia. You can start from the Mediterranean or from the Black Sea (Fig. 12).

From China access is more difficult, for the impossible plateau of Tibet intervenes. China has struck westward along the great silk routes which led to Rome, first under the Han dynasty round about the beginning of the Christian Era, again in the 7th century under the T'angs, on the eve of the Arab irruption, and lastly under the late, lamented Manchus. The Chinese never got into India, though they got very near it, but their culture is saturated with Indian influences.

The eastern frontier is as difficult ; true the Burmese and Shans have ravaged Assam, and the Arakanese E. Bengal ; but the flow of Indian influence is eastward, penetrating Indo-China and the isles as far as Borneo. The meeting points of Chinese and Indian culture are in Turkestan and N. Annam.

II. Having arrived in India, what is the next step ?

British interests in India began with trade. (Fig. 1). Our base was the sea. After several abortive efforts, the Company secured a foothold in Calcutta, Bombay and Madras. Calcutta brought us in touch with outlying provinces of the Mughal Empire, Bombay with the Marāṭhās, and Madras with the French.

(1) From Calcutta, we advanced up the Ganges valley to Patna. Our next moves were to Allahabad, where Ganges and Jamunā meet, and up the Doāb to Delhi. Oudh lapsed only in 1856.

(2) In Madras our struggle with the French brought us (*i*) the N. Circars, centring in the Masulipatam and the Kistnā-Godāvarī delta, and (*ii*) the domination of the Carnatic. A forty year's struggle ensued with Mysore.

(3) In Bombay we were up against a tougher folk, the Marāṭhās, and a tougher hinterland. Our thrusts were towards Gujarāt, Poona and Delhi. Nāgpur lapsed in 1853.

(4) The Indus valley failed to attract us till after we had bogged our First Afghān War. The **Mughals'** base was Kābul (Fig. 2). Their first advance was on Delhi, via Lahore, and down the Doāb to Allahabad. From Lahore they thrust to Multān and the sea, and northwards into Kashmir. From Delhi via Ajmer they got to Gujarāt; from Āgra through Ujjain to Khāndesh ; and from Allahabad into Bengal and Orissa. Then came a pause. The Deccan proved more difficult. They advanced in two stages, first on Ahmadnagar and Berār, then on Bijāpur and Golkonda and on to the Carnatic and Masulipatam.

The **Marāṭhā** base was Poona, in the heart of the Marāṭhā country (Fig. 3). Thence they struck south-east as far as Tanjore, where they founded a kingdom ; north into Gujarāt, and through Mālwa to Delhi. From Delhi they moved down the Ganges valley and north-west to Lahore and on to Multān. In Nāgpur they were in their own country. (Their break through to Orissa was an exceptional military freak.). The states they founded in Gujarāt (Baroda) and Central India (Indore and Gwālīor) and the little state of Sandūr *en route* for the south, still survive.

All these 'thrusts' have one factor in common, although they radiated from such different bases (Fig. 4). Their objectives in each case were the centres of population and trade, where wealth accumulates. Of these there are four, in order of size :—

- | | |
|------------------------|-------------------------------|
| 1. The Gangetic Plain. | 3. The Kistnā-Godāvarī delta. |
| 2. The South. | 4. Gujarāt. |

Now density of population is dependent on permanent factors, such as fertility of soil, water for irrigation and drainage, a reasonable climate and rainfall. Trade in turn is dependent on population ; and on other factors, such as accessibility by land or water.

The movements of the British, the Mughals and the Marāṭhās are typical of all movement, racial and cultural, in India ; the objectives and the routes by which they are attained are more or less the same. I say ' more or less ' because all generalizations are *ipso facto* wrong. In India there are some physical factors which are not permanent, the rivers for example.

The plains of the Indus and the Ganges are covered with almost unfathomable silt. Borings 1,000 feet deep have failed to touch rock bottom. In such a plain the bed of a large river may be twenty or even thirty miles wide, and the river is free to oscillate within these limits. The Indus is the worst offender. I shall not recite the full *dossier* of its crimes. Its waters at one time flowed into the Rann of Cutch. One fine day it appears to have gone west, near the Sukkur dam. Perhaps it was demoralised by the desertion of its principal consort, the Jamunā, which is proved to have formerly flowed into the depression now known as the Hakra.

I shall not dilate upon the causes of this **river shifting**, a common phenomenon all over India. There is evidence of climatic changes within historic times and before history began, but its interpretation is debated. The hand of man had certainly something to do with it, digging irrigation channels and clearing silt. Deforestation, too, may have been a contributory factor, and rivers are apt to choke their own courses with the silt they bear. But the results are important to the archæologist, for the shifting of rivers involves the shifting of human habitation, and accounts for the deserted cities which are scattered all over the Indus basin and the delta of the Ganges.

Malaria, again, is a factor to reckon with. Of the history of malaria we know little, but we do know that vast tracts of country both in N. and S. India have been thrown out of occupation, even in the past century or two, by its ravages.

But these variations do not invalidate my contention that the routes followed by British, Mughals and Marāṭhās are a constant factor in the genesis and growth of Indian civilization. The **general pattern** is simple, a sort of distorted 'Z'. Approaching by land from the north-west, the first thrust is through the Ganges valley, the second from Agra (or Delhi or Allahabad) through Mālwa or Ajmer toward some seaport in Gujarāt ; the third diagonally across the Peninsula towards Madras. Other thrusts, down the Indus valley to the sea, across the Deccan towards Masulipatam, or into the fertile valleys of Kashmīr or Central India, are subsidiary. The deserts of Rājputānā and the broken country that intervenes between the valleys of the Ganges and the Godāvari are avoided, except by refugees, for " the hills contain the ethnological sweepings of the plains ". This pattern emerges in most phases of Indian history and culture.

Consider **Languages** (Fig. 5). Indo-Aryan speech falls into two main categories, " Inner " and " Outer ". Linguistic evidence indicates that the centre of diffusion of the " Inner " languages (the purest form) lies in the " Mid-land " (*Madhyadeśa*) astride the Ganges-Indus waterhead, the home of W. Hindī. Westward and north-westward they pass through Panjābī to the " Outer " languages of the Indus valley, eastward through the " Mediate " E. Hindī to the " Outer " languages of Bihār, Bengal, Orissa and Assam. But southward (along the middle stroke of the 'Z') they break through the " Outer " ring to the sea (Gujarātī), separating " Outer " Sindhī from Marāṭhī.

In Peninsular India, Marāṭhī, advancing south-east (part of the way along the lower stroke of the 'Z') is brought up short by Dravidian resistance. The " Outer " languages of the Indus valley are up against non-Indian influences, the **Irānian** speech of Afghān and Baloch, and the **Dardic** languages which survive from Kashmīr to Kāfiristān. In the 'no man's land' between the Ganges and the Godāvari pre-Aryan tongues of the Dravidian and Austric families still hold their own.

Linguistic differences are as significant as linguistic affinities, for the border zones between the chief national languages are also controlled by geographical factors. Thus, the Gangetic plain falls into four main cultural areas (W. and E. Hindī, Bihār and Bengal), each with its own traditions and customs, each with its own groups of capitals, past and present; the Indus valley has three such areas (Sind, the Middle Indus, N. of Sukkur, and the Panjāb proper, between the Jhelum and the Sutlej); Peninsular India has five (Marāṭhā, Kanarese, Telugu, Tamil and Malayālam), and on the flanks of the Central Indian uplands are Gujarāt and Orissa.

This grouping is reflected roughly in the traditional, but inexact, classification of Brāhmanas, the Sārasvata, Kānyakubja, Maithila, Gaur and Utkala of Upper India, the Gurjara, Mahārāṣṭra, Karṇāṭa, Āndhra and Drāviḍa of the Peninsula. It is reflected, too, in the **Military History** of India (Fig. 6.) As the "cockpit of Europe" is Flanders, where the cultural currents of northern and southern Europe converge, so too, the cockpits of India lie in or near where a 'thrust' impinges on a transition zone between one cultural area and another, e.g., on the Jhelum, where the 'thrusts' from W. and N. Asia emerge through the Salt Range; north-west of Delhi, on the threshold of the Mid-land; and round Agra, where they meet the routes from western India and the Gangetic plain; on the western borders of Bihār, round the gateway to Bengal; on the routes from Gangetic to western India, and on those across the Deccan to Madras.

The distribution of **Religions** is equally instructive. Early Hinduism arose in the Mid-land. Bihār, the home of Buddhism and Jainism, lay beyond the "Aryan" pale. Both these religions challenged "Aryan" orthodoxy; both permeated all India. Buddhism lasted till the twelfth century in Bengal and in the Deccan; today it lingers only in the hinterland of Orissa. Jainism survives in Rājputānā, in Gujarāt and in the Kanarese districts of Bombay, in S. Kanara, and in a little group of villages on the border of N. and S. Arcot—areas away from the main stream of Indian movement and remote from the land of its birth.

Islām came to India (a) by land through Persia and (b) by sea. The Indus valley can be got at both ways, and is overwhelmingly Muslim. In the transitional zone of the Panjāb the percentage of Muslims falls below 50, and Hindu influences become active; the resulting compromise is the religion of the Sikhs. Passing into the Ganges plain the percentage of Muslims steadily declines from about 35 in the Sikh country to less than 10 in Bihār; then on the threshold of Bengal it suddenly rises again, culminating in about 80 in the Ganges-Brahmaputra *doāb* (Fig. 15). Elsewhere in India the percentage is less than 10, except for a slight rise round certain centres of medieval Muhammadan rule (e.g., Ajmer, Māṇḍū, Aḥmadābād, Daulatābād, Gulbarga, etc.) and on the west coast, where it jumps to 22 in Broach and 32 in Malabar. In the Marāṭhā and Tamil country, in Mysore and E. Hyderabad it falls below 6, and almost peters out in the coastal plain between Midnapur and Guntur, and the 'no man's land' that lies behind it, zero being reached in Ganjām.

The trade of Broach and Malabar has been of world importance since the days of Augustus, and the maritime influx of Western influence is borne out by the distribution of finds of Roman coins (Fig. 9), by the settlement of Pārsis and Ismailiās in Gujarāt and Bombay, by the Syrian Christians of Tranvancore and Cochin (with their Pahlavi inscribed crosses) and by the Jews of Cochin.

* * * * *

With this pattern the archæological evidence conforms, as a glance at the sketch map in the *Imperial Gazetteer* atlas will show. Roughly India falls into four major cultural divisions, (A) the Indus basin, (B) the Ganges basin, (C) the Central Belt of hills and desert, and (D) the Peninsula.

A. THE INDUS BASIN.

The modern kingdom of Afghānistān is composite. (1) Herat belongs to Persia ; culturally and, through most of its history, politically too. (2) Balkh (Bactria) in the Oxus valley connects up with Central Asia and China. (3) Kābul lies within the Indus basin, and is, like Assam, a cultural annexe of India ; it was once a hive of Buddhism, and the seat of a Hindu kingdom. (4) Qandahār, the focus of Afghān power, controls the routes from Persia to India via Kābul and via Multān.

Balūchistān is shared by the Baloch (of Persian origin) and the Dravidian-speaking Brāhūis. Makrān, as a channel of communication, has been practically out of action since the days of Alexander, but in the third millennium B.C. it was fairly well populated, and it linked 'Chalcolithic' India with Mesopotamia (Fig. 8). The westward penetration of Hinduism is to this day testified by the annual pilgrimage to Hinglāj.

Under the Achæmenids the Indus valley was Persian. Alexander came to India to assert his rights as a Persian king. Seleucus ceded it to the Mauryas, and when the Mauryas collapsed, the Greeks pushed in from Bactria, to yield it in turn to Parthians and Śakas from Persia. Then from Central Asia came the Kushāns, whose sway lasted longer. Their heirs, the Shāhīs, hung on to Kābul and Und till the coming of Mahmūd of Ghazni, who was by culture a Persian. He annexed Kābul and the Panjāb, and Sind acknowledged his suzerainty. His successors lost their Persian possessions to the Seljūks, and were finally pushed off the Irānian plateau by a Turkman raid, which left them only the Panjāb. Then came Muḥammad Ghorī, whose armies smashed through the Indus and Ganges plains to the sea.

Yet the Indus Valley was not 'de-indianized'. The distribution of cultural impacts is not, however, uniform. Four main cultural areas may be distinguished, (1) the tract north of the Salt Range, (2) the Vale of Kashmīr, (3) the upper reaches of the Panjāb rivers (Central Panjāb), and (4) the Indus Valley below the Salt Range (W. Panjāb and Sind).

1. In the amphitheatre north of the Salt Range is the densely populated district of Peshāwar, which might fairly be called the 'transformer station' in the transmission of cultural currents from Western and Central Asia. Here, on the lower reaches of the Kābul river, Alexander found the city of Puṣkalāvātī. On the eastern rim of the basin was Taxila, with its Indo-Greek city of Sirkap and its Kushān city of Sirsukh, for centuries a centre of Indian culture and of the 'Hellenistic' art of Gandhāra. Not far distant at Mānsehrā and Shāhbāzgarhī, are the only two Kharoṣṭhī inscriptions of Aśoka.

The Kharoṣṭhī alphabet is an adaptation of Aramaic (the script of Persian officialdom) to the requirements of Indian phonetics. Its use in India, as against the essentially Indian Brāhmī, is characteristic of the Indus basin, a distribution which anticipates the latter day rivalry between Persian and Nāgarī scripts.

The history of the Greek tradition in this area is vividly reflected in the coinage. Already in Bactria the Greeks had been to some extent 'persianized'. As soon as they crossed the Hindu Kush, Indian scripts and Indian languages appear on their coins. The gods remain Greek, though some Greeks, we know, became Buddhists, others Hindus. The Kushāns took up the Greek tradition, and added to it a cosmopolitan galaxy of cults, Irānian, Buddhist and Hindu. On the coins and monuments of the Kushāns the process of 'indianization' can be traced in detail. Kanishka stood forth as the Constantine of Mahāyānist Buddhism ; Vāsudeva, his successor, was an ardent Śaiva. With the decline of the Kushāns Taxila waned, and a new cycle began far away in the Ganges plain. Of the rest of the Indus basin little need be said.

2. Kashmīr, a cultural *cul de sac*, developed on her own lines the tradition of Gandhāran art, evolving a style of architecture which is almost Hellenic in the severity of its ornament, and quite unlike anything to be found in India. Under Muslim rule Kashmīr became even

more eccentric ; anything more un-Indian or more un-Saracenic than a Kashmīr mosque it would be difficult to conceive.

3. The Panjāb is sterile in relics of the past.

4. South of the Salt Range a line of Buddhist *stūpas* follows the course of the Indus almost to the sea, a faint but quite clear echo of Gandhāra. Hinduism flourished in the ancient city of Brāhmanābād and in the port of Tatta, too; a reflex apparently of the culture of Gujarāt. Sassanian contacts are frequently in evidence, and the cult of the sun, of which Multan was a centre, owed its vogue, perhaps, to Zoroastrian influence. The Arab conquest (711 A.D.), which extended to Multān, cut Sind adrift from Indian life. Of the Arabs nothing of note survives. Under the Delhi Sultanate art revived at Multān, with a Persian leavening which gathered strength till it culminated in the intensively 'persianized' tombs of eighteenth century Hyderabad.

B. GANGETIC INDIA.

The Ganges plain, as already noted, comprises four main cultural areas, (1) the Midland, the home of Western Hindī, (2) a transitional area centring in Oudh, where Eastern Hindī, mediate between 'Inner' and 'Outer' languages, is spoken, (3) Bihār, or rather the area of Bihārī speech, and (4) east of the salient of the Rājmahāl Hills, Bengal, with extensions into Assam and Orissa.

From Vedic literature it is inferred that 'Aryan' culture, established in the first instance in the Panjāb, shifted to the Mid-land and then down the Ganges-Jamunā doab, and finally embraced Oudh and N. Bihār. At each stage it grew less like the culture of the R̥ig-veda, and closer to the India of today ; in short, it became 'indianized'. This indianized culture flooded Bengal, Orissa and Assam and pressed on to Indo-China. Its 'area of standardization' lay between the Sutlej and the western border of Bengal. It saturated Buddhism and Jainism, which re-interpreted but did not repudiate it.

Of the pre-Buddhist culture of this area, except for some scattered finds of stone and copper implements, archæology knows nothing. The earliest datable remains are Mauryan, centring in Bihār, and of them the best known are based on Persian models ; in fact, some scholars would postulate a 'Magian period' of Indian history. But Aśoka's free standing pillars differ in many details from their structural prototypes at Persepolis ; in short, they are not Persian, but Indian.

On the fall of the Mauryas other centres of cultural activity arose. The history of post-Mauryan art can be traced at Mathurā, in the opposite end of the Ganges plain, or at Sārnāth near Benares. Mathurā was held by the Kushāṇs : naturally evidence of Kushāṇ influence and the Greek tradition which the Kushāṇs carried on is there abundant, mostly Jain, and intensively indianized. But the Kushāṇ tradition is not alone in the field. Another factor, which owes little to Greece or Persia, is operative, crudely at first, but destined to bear fruit in the art of the Guptas, and to crystallize in the curvilinear spires and exuberant decoration of the 'Northern Style' of architecture. Its place of origin we do not know ; there are several types of spire, none of which can be assigned to any particular area. Quite possibly they were evolved from the simpler village temples of Bihār, and bent bamboo roofing may or may not be their prototype. The style survives most completely in the temples of Orissa, where Muslims are so few. It extends, with local variations, throughout Upper India, as far west as Sind, into the Bombay Deccan to Paṭṭadakal, within the Kanarese border, to Ganjām on the east (Mahendragiri, Mukhaliṅgam) and even to Himālayan Kāngrā. The 'Northern Style', however, and the Hinduism for which it stands, were not alone in the field. Under the long-lived Pāla dynasty Bihār and Bengal, distinct as usual, as the ruins of Nālandā and Pahārpur testify, preserved their native Buddhism till the Muslims came.

With the Muslim conquest the centre of cultural energy shifted to Delhi. The Delhi Sultāns began by building mosques from the debris of temples. Then they set Hindu craftsmen to interpret Islamic forms. Under the early Tughlaqs there was a brief reversion to Islamic purism, but Indian feeling soon re-asserted itself, and the break-away of the lower provinces, Jaunpur and Bengal, involved artistic as well as political independence. The Hindu artists employed by the African Shāhs of Jaunpur aimed apparently at novelty and attained it in the Egyptian-like 'propylons' of their mosques. The architects of Muslim Bengal never grasped the spirit of Islamic art, their mosques are ill-proportioned, their decoration over-elaborate; the blend of the two cultures is less successful than elsewhere.

C. THE CENTRAL BELT.

The affinities of north Rājputānā lie with Delhi, those of south Rājputānā with Gujarāt. Mālwa and Bundelkhaṇḍ are associated in language and culture with the Mid-land; Rewa and the little group of States to the west of it, which constitute Baghelkhaṇḍ, speak a dialect of E. Hindi. They are in close touch on the north with Allahabad, where Ganges and Jamunā unite, and on the south with the upper reaches of the Narbadā and the Mahānadī (the Chattisgarh plain). The Narbadā marks traditionally the border between N. and S. India. Across it run the chief routes from Upper India to the Deccan and the sea. Culturally its middle reaches belong to Mālwa. It is bounded on the south by the Satpura, Mahādeo and Maikal Hills, a cultural barrier dominated by Dravidian and Muṇḍā speaking tribes, which broadens out eastward into the Chotā Nāgpur plateau. Cross these three ranges, and you are among Marāṭhās, and Goṇḍs.

The Copper Age culture of the Ganges valley extends over the Chotā Nāgpur plateau and southward into the Central Provinces as far as Gungeriā, in Bālāghāt district, on the watershed between the Narbadā and the Godāvarī. South of this it did not go (Fig. 8).

In the Mauryan period and after, the key positions were Sāñchī and Bharhut. Bharhut is in Baghelkhaṇḍ on an ancient route from Allahabad to Jabalpur. Sāñchī lay apparently at the junction of several routes leading from the upper Ganges valley to Ujjain and thence to Paithan and the Deccan or westward to the sea at Broach (Fig. 7). Round Sāñchī, where Aśoka carved his edicts, is grouped an instructive series of monuments. The Besnagar pillar is typical; the capital is of Mauryan pedigree, but the shaft is quite un-Persian; it records, in Brāhmī characters, its dedication to Vishnu by Heliodorus, a Vaishṇava Greek and envoy of King Antialcidas of Taxila at the court of a Śuṅga king. Near by is a record of the Āndhras, co-heirs with the Greeks and Śuṅgas of the Mauryan heritage. Sāñchī plainly was the meeting point of Āndhra, Śuṅga and Greek. Sāñchī and Bharhut disclose the growth of Indian culture up to Gupta times; and it is in this Central Belt that Gupta art is best preserved (Fig. 11). South of the Satpura-Maikal barrier, the Vākāṭakas took up the Gupta tradition. It was they apparently who passed it on to Ajanta, and from Ajanta the Cālukyas, not long after, derived certain Gupta elements in their art.

As already noted, the Central Belt lay within the area of the Northern Style; and it preserves at Khajurāho, Gwālior and other places some of its finest examples. Under the Kalacuris of Jabalpur and Chattisgarh the Gupta and Northern styles were blended. The only part of the Central Belt in which the Muslims won a foothold was Mālwa, and here, at Māṇḍū, though not uninfluenced by the decorative taste of Gujarāt, they followed Delhi models more closely than any other 'Provincial' school. Of the Goṇḍ kingdoms in the south (Maṇḍla, Kherla, Chāṇḍā), which held Islam at bay till the eighteenth century, nothing of distinctive artistic interest remains.

D. PENINSULAR INDIA.

Though evidence of a definite chalcolithic culture is wanting in the Peninsula, remains of the Stone Ages and of a 'megalithic' culture are abundant. Palæolithic artifacts of early types and mostly of quartzite occur plentifully on and in the laterite of the Pālār plain behind Madras, and scattered over the Deccan plateau south of the Kistnā; elsewhere the finds are not so numerous, possibly because they have not been looked for, but the distribution is wide. Neolithic celts of ordinary types are common in the uplands, especially around Bellary, and are also found in the plains; and the 'shouldered' type, characteristic of Malaya, have been found in the Godāvārī Agency and in Singhbhūm. 'Pygmy' flints occur in Sind, Gujarāt, Bundelkhand and elsewhere. But in the present state of knowledge no inference can safely be drawn from these distributions (Fig. 14) of types so standardized.

The 'megalithic' culture, on the other hand, is more specialized, and cultural areas are well defined. Dolmens, kistvaens and stone circles are found all over the Deccan plateau from Nāgpur almost to the Nilgiris and in the plains behind Madras. A rather different culture is found in the Nilgiris themselves. In Malabar the graves take the form of rock-hewn tombs. Around Madras clay coffins are in fashion, in Tinnevely urn burials. The grave furniture suggests that all these cultures are connected, and associated coin finds in N. Mysore and elsewhere indicate that the culture was in full swing at the beginning of the Christian era (Fig. 13).

So much for prehistory. The history of the Peninsula dawns with the edicts of Aśoka at Gīrnār and Sopārā in the Bombay Presidency, Jaugaḍa in Ganjām and at four sites on or south of the Kistnā (Maski, Kopbal, Siddhapura and Yerragudi). This distribution (Fig. 10) suggests routes which follow the 'Z' pattern of other cultural distributions.

Gujarāt is traditionally regarded as 'southern', though all but a little of it lies north of the Narbadā. Historically it is associated with Rājputānā, Mālwā and the Deccan. At Gīrnār, in Kāṭhiāwār, are records of Aśoka, of the Satrap Rudradāman and of Skanda Gupta. The Āndhras, too, held part of it for a time. The coins of the earlier satraps bear legends in Greek, Kharoṣṭhī and Brāhmī script (all on the same coin), the Greek being used for transliterating Indian words. Caṣṭana's successors dropped Kharoṣṭhī, and their Greek degenerated into illegibility. These types the Guptas copied for their western provinces, substituting Hindu for Buddhist symbols. Gupta art did not reach so far.

Medieval Gujarāt conformed to the 'Northern Style', but enriched it with the most exquisite carving in stone. The passion for decoration, which transformed the severe traditions of Mauryan and Kushān into the exuberance of Sāñchī and Amarāvātī, in Gujarāt attained its highest expression, and had lost none of its vitality when Islām took possession. It is to this that the Muslim art of Gujarāt owes its peculiarly Indian charm.

In the rest of S. India, there are five main cultural areas answering to the five chief languages, Marāṭhī, Telugu, Tamil, Kanarese and Malayālam.

1. In the Marāṭhā country the early satraps and their successors, the Āndhras, left something more than their signatures in the caves of Nāsik and Kārli. They transplanted there the tradition of Sāñchī and all that lay behind it, a tradition which inspired the sculpture and painting of Ajanta, till the Cālukyas established their sway over the greater part of the Deccan and transferred the centre of Deccani life across the Dravidian border to Bādāmi. Centuries later, the Yādavas of Mahārāṣṭra broke away from Kanarese rule, renewed contact with the North and dotted the lava plains with curvilinear towers.

2. As above noted, the Telugu Āndhras' hold on Paithan placed them in touch with Sāñchī. In the Telugu country proper their capital was at or near Amarāvātī on the Kistnā. Amarāvātī became a Buddhist centre probably in the second century B.C., and Buddhism

throve there under the Āndhras and their successors, the Ikṣvākus. The *stūpa* was rebuilt or re-embellished more than once, and the sculptures, which now adorn the staircase of the British Museum, belong to its latest phase. Their affinities lie with Gandhāra and Mathurā, and it is probably through Sāñchī that they came. But here that culture struck no deep roots, and did not survive the Cālukyan conquest of Telingāna and its later absorption in the Chōḷa empire.

3. Meanwhile, in the Pālār plain, the Tamils got busy with rock-cut temples and launched 'Dravidian' architecture on its long career. Structural experiments soon followed, for the seventh century Pallavas were vigorous and creative, and by the end of the century the 'Dravidian' type was established, owing little except its sculptural themes to any other culture. Under the Chōḷas the centre of activity shifted to the plain of the Kāvēri, and a new phase opens with the great temple of Tanjore. Later developments are rather obscured by wholesale rebuilding under the Vijayanagar emperors, who spread Dravidian architecture all over their Telugu and Kanarese dominions. After them, in the south, the Madurā Nāyakas elaborated the tradition of Vijayanagar; and it still dominates the southern half of the Peninsula.

4. In the Kanarese country, thanks to their geographical position, the Cālukyas of Bādāmi had several cultural alternatives from which they could choose. In and around their capital they experimented with the Ajanta tradition, the 'Northern Style' and that of their predecessors, the Kaḍambas, but the basic ingredient was Pallava. Then came a break. The Rāṣṭrakūṭas took over the Western Deccan (754-973 A.D.), and concentrated their artistic energies on a rendering of Cālukya models at Ellora. Their fall marks a new departure. The restored Cālukyas modified the Pallava tradition on 'Northern' lines, and embellished it with a wealth of sculptural detail second only to that of Gujarāt. Their heirs, the Hoysalas, brought this new 'Chālukyan Style' to maturity, but it did not survive the destruction of their capital by the armies of Delhi.

5. The Malayālam culture of Malabar, Cochin and Travancore is an unsolved puzzle. The language is closest of all Dravidian languages to Tamil, yet it has the highest percentage of Sanskrit words of any Dravidian tongue, while Tamil has the fewest. The Nambūdris are the strictest Brāhmaṇs in India, and in practice the most unorthodox. It is possible that, secluded from foreign intrusion by the Ghāṭs, the Malayālis preserve a more ancient type of orthodoxy than the rest of India. The architecture, both Hindu and Muslim, except in the south of Travancore, where Tamil models prevail, is unlike anything else in India, and the nearest parallels are in Kashmīr. The archæological evidence is meagre and difficult to interpret, even the Pahlavi of the Syrian crosses. Yet no part of India has been in closer touch with the West.

Of the Deccan Sultanates, Aḥmadanagar and Berār (and the Bahmanis, too, according to Firishta) were of Brāhmaṇ origin; Aḥmadnagar, Golkonda and Bijāpur were Shiah; Bidar was Turkī, from Georgia. None of them had much in common with Delhi, and, once the tie was cut, they were thrown on their own resources, and on what fresh blood they could import from Persia or Africa. Up to 1400 A.D. the Bahmanis followed Delhi models, due, no doubt, to the wholesale importation of Delhi craftsmen by Muhammad bin Tughlaq in 1329. Then Persian architects were imported, but with the decline of the Bahmanis indigenous influences came into play, for under the later Sultanates Indian craftsmen, Indian clerks and Indian languages were freely used.

* * * * *

The foregoing survey explains to some extent the unity and diversity of Indian culture. Northern India is an area of shifting boundaries. From the Salt Range to the seas there

is no substantial physical barrier, no clearly defined belt of cultural transition, except perhaps at Delhi and on the threshold of Bengal. In the south the boundaries of Tamil, Marāṭhī and Gujarāṭī are well defined by wide zones of rough country. Mārāṭhī is separated from Kanarese and Telugu by the line between lava and gneiss. Only the Kanarese—Telugu frontier is ill-defined.

The geography of Upper India favours uniformity of culture, but the area is too vast for political cohesion; even the Mughals held it together with difficulty. The smaller and better defined geographical units of the Peninsula foster cultural variety and the development of conscious and politically well-knit nationalities. On the other hand, Northern India is open to the impact of foreign influences from the West and Central Asia. Such impacts, whether destructive or creative, reach the Peninsula either from Upper India (at reduced voltage) or by sea; and the sea-borne impacts are rarely transmitted through the Western Ghats. The direction along which cultural currents travel is governed by permanent geographical factors. Their effect varies with the distance from source and the cultural medium through which they pass; but the medium is sufficiently continuous to ensure that, whatever changes may occur, the product is unmistakably Indian.

KĀSHMĪRĪ PROVERBS.

BY PAṆḌIT ANAND KOUL, ŚRĪNAGAR, KASHMĪR.

(Continued from p. 199 *supra*, and concluded.)

Apis dani mushkil pēni.

A lump of flesh given to a person of low degree is difficult for him [to eat]. (i.e., out of vanity he becomes more concerned to display it to others than to eat it himself.)

Azmormut gav povmut.

One [who has been] tested is [easily] vanquished. (e.g., even a proud person is apt to yield to a person who knows his secrets.)

Begāri ti gatshi bronṭhui gatshun.

Even to perform impressed labour, it is well to go early. (e.g., an old prisoner may become a warder, vested with authority over prisoners who have come in later.)

Begāri ti gatshi jān pāṭhi karani.

Even impressed labour should be performed properly. (i.e., it should be a first principle in life to perform with all earnestness the work we have to do.)

Chēniy phar ta gontshan war.

Vain bragging and twisting of moustaches. (Used in the sense of 'smart clothes and empty pockets.' Cf. the Hindi, *ghar kī korī mūcheñ hī mūcheñ haiñ*.)

Dohay doh chi na hikhīy āsān.

All days are not equal. (Cf. 'Christmas comes but once a year.')

Dudārḥāmyuk hak ?

[Is it the truth, or is it merely] drift wood of Dudārḥāma ?

Note.—*Hak* has a double meaning here, viz., 'truth,' and 'drift wood.' At Dudārḥāma, 14 miles north of Śrīnagar, drift wood is collected in large quantities from the Sindh river.

Jinnas ku-jinn.

A demon met by a more ferocious demon. (Said of a wicked person having to deal with a person more wicked than himself. Cf. the saying, 'diamond cuts diamond.')

Kāni kar kāni ach kathin gilan,

Sheth sās shaitān tut kut pilan.

The one-eyed made a hard wink with his blind eye,

How can even sixty thousand Satans attain to that height ?

Kūl, kātsur ta machi-ṭcal dushman Paighambar.

The dark, the brown-haired and the freckled [is] the enemy of the Prophet.

Explanation.—This saying has reference to Shimar, one of Yazid's generals, who was of this complexion, and who slew Husain, the second of the two sons of 'Ali and grandson

of Muhammad, on the plain of Qarbalâ ; hence a person of this complexion is reproached as being by nature vile and infamous.

Kûr gayi tîr—yût kamân-kash kash kaḍēs tyût thud wâti.

A daughter is like an arrow, [which] will reach as high as the archer can shoot it.

Explanation.—The marrying of a daughter to a great man's son depends upon the amount of the dowry that can be given her by her parents.

Kâkani kâkani karahan ghara, ammâ yârabal-kâkani dinak na karana.

The wives of brothers would live [peacefully] together, but the women who meet them at the *ghât* will not let them. (*i.e.*, these women ever gossip and delight in sowing seeds of discord.)

Kûris ta krûthis chi sârîy khotsân.

All are afraid of the malevolent and the malignant.

Mê kun zan tsê kun wuchân, shâris shor andriy âsân.

Looking towards me, [but in reality] looking towards thee, the squint-eyed [is] tainted internally.

Note.—Compare with this the Hindî proverb, *sau meñ phûlâ, hazâr meñ kânâ, sarâ lâkh meñ eñchâ-tânâ*, meaning, 'of persons with leucoma in the eye, only one in a hundred; of the one-eyed, only one in a thousand; of the squint-eyed, only one in a lakh and a quarter can be trusted.' Cf. also the Shâhâbâd proverb quoted by Mr. Oldham in *Folklore*, XLI, No. 4, p. 340.

Navi nawân ta prâni prâdn.

The new are becoming newer, and the old older.

Explanation.—This is said, in jealousy, by old servants of new servants, or by children of a deceased wife in regard to their step-brothers and step-sisters.

Purmut jinn.

A demon, and literate to boot. (The idea being that a wicked person becomes worse if he receives a little education.)

Pyud shâl gav pâdar-sah.

A tame jackal is [equal to] a lion. (*e.g.*, a servant acquainted with his master's secrets and shortcomings becomes dangerous.)

Qiblas kun gayam zanga.

My feet happend to turn towards Mecca.

Explanation.—Muhammadans bow their heads in prayer towards Mecca. To stretch the feet towards that city would savour of irreverence. The saying is used by way of repentance for rudeness towards an elder.

Shâyi chukho zi jâyi chukho.

If at home, thou art in the [safest] place. (Cf. the English proverb, 'East or west, home is best'; and J. H. Payne's line, 'Be it ever so humble, there's no place like home.')

Tsûr gav tamâcha 'Izrâ'il.

A thief is a blow from the Angel of Death.

Wanana wanana chu koh tâni nashân.

Even a hill is worn away by talking and talking. (Said of a talkative, stingy person). Cf. the English proverb, 'Constant dropping wears the stone'; also the Indian proverb, 'By continual use the rope cuts the curbstone of the well.'

Woth ai tshana ta sûda kami?

If I leap down (*i.e.*, incur risk), what will be the gain? (Cf. the English saying, 'Look before you leap.')

Yuthuy zuwa tithuy suwa.

As much as I can afford I shall sew (*i.e.*, make clothes to wear). (Cf. the English proverb, 'Cut your coat according to your cloth'; also the Italian, 'According to your purse govern your mouth.')

BOOK-NOTICES.

BUDDHIST LOGIC: By TH. STCHERBATSKY.
Vol. I. Bibliotheca Buddhica, XXVI. pp. xii+560. Academy of Sciences of the United Soviet Republics; Leningrad, 1932.

It was my privilege in the September number to review the second volume of this work, containing the translation of the *Nyāyabindu* and other passages in Indian treatises on logic, which provide the basis for the exposition of the system in this volume; and through the courtesy of the author the latter has been received in time for me to review it. But circumstances beyond my control debar me from attempting adequate appreciation of an epoch-making book, whose theories will be the subject of discussion for many years to come. The labour of a lifetime by a scholar of the first rank in that department of Sanskrit literature, which of all others is the most difficult to comprehend and which has moreover not yet been fully explored, is summed up here and is not to be pronounced on lightly. All I can do is to emphasize a few of the aspects which appear to me specially deserving of attention.

First let no one be put off by the title, thinking that a book on logic must of necessity be dry and repellent. For Professor Stcherbatsky looks on it as a subject of the greatest importance and succeeds in communicating to his readers the thrill he himself experiences in its study. This I would attribute only secondarily to a gift for setting out his views cogently and attractively, and primarily rather to prolonged hard thought which has enabled him to unravel the leading principles from a mass of tangled comment, and to his knowledge of Greek and modern European thought by which he illuminates his subject with striking comparisons. The method is unquestionably beset with pitfalls. For under the rules governing Indian philosophical discussions the fundamental ideas are often not explicitly brought to daylight or are befogged by the use of terms which can be interpreted in more ways than one, so that, as we know from many examples, comparison with European systems may guide us to wrong conclusions. Such a charge has at times been laid at the author's door with some degree of justification, but, just as he avoided tendentiousness on the whole in translating the *Nyāyabindu*, so here he shows himself conscious of this danger by indicating points of difference as well as of likeness, and only in occasional passages would I suspect him of reading into his philosophers a meaning they did not intend. The parallels indeed are worked out with such critical acumen that his book may well exert considerable influence on European thought. For if we accept his views, we must look on Buddhist logic as one of the most original products of the Indian mind, or even as the most original. Dinnāga was, however, too much in advance of his times to make his basic principles generally acceptable to his contemporaries and succeeding generations, and thus it came about that his work has influenced the details of orthodox Indian logic to a greater degree than the lay-out of the system.

The treatment adopted by Professor Stcherbatsky is suited to Buddhist logic in a way that it would not have been to the more involved thinking of the

Nyāya-vaiśeṣika system. The difference between the two, as he rightly emphasises, ultimately derives from the attention paid by the Buddhists to epistemology. As they took up detailed study of those subjects only which had a well-defined bearing on their beliefs, we must assume that the reason for this is to be sought in the philosophy of their religion. To have accepted the realist views of the Nyāya would have been fatal to their doctrines, and by demonstrating that knowledge expressible in words, whether derived from perception or inference had behind it only the authority of our imagination and did not necessarily correspond to any external reality, they made ready the path for Mahāyāna dogmatics. That logic was applicable only to the *samvrti* plane of knowledge was thus no objection to its practice; *na hi samvrtisopānam antareṇa tattva-prāsādaśikharārohaṇam vipaścitaḥ*, as they were accustomed to say. Except where this principle of the two planes of knowledge is insufficiently recognised by the author, his arguments seem to me to be in the main conclusive. His explanation of the Buddhist theories on the perceptual judgment, inference and syllogism is novel, illuminating and convincing, epithets which apply equally to his description of their views of negation and relations. Nowhere else for instance are the exact implication of the *trairūpya* of the middle term so clearly brought out.

But is he really right about the *nirvikalpaka* form of *pratyakṣa*? The object of perception is stated by Dharmakīrti and Dharmottara to be *svalakṣaṇa*, and the perception itself is necessarily limited to a point-instant, a *kṣaṇa*; it is inexpressible in words and conveys merely an impression of the senses, before the imagination starts to interpret the *prati-bhāsa*, the image which the sense concerned imprints on that one of the five sensory consciousnesses which is related to it. It is this first instant of perception which alone is effective as being devoid of the aid of the imagination; its action is denoted by the indefinite word, *arthakriyā*, which is sometimes explained as *paramārthasat*. The term *svalakṣaṇa* is here translated by the Thing-in-itself, an unfortunate use of a Kantian term, which inevitably brings in associations foreign to Buddhist conceptions; and, basing his exposition on the late *Tattvasaṃgraha* (a work, of which we urgently require a good translation), the author concludes that these logicians looked on this part of perception as attaining ultimate reality. Some justification might be seen for this in the fact that the word *nirvikalpaka* applies also to knowledge that has reached the stage of omniscience, but it is quite certain that Dinnāga accepted the Mahāyāna doctrine of *dharmānairātmya*, prevalent in his day, according to which the analysis of phenomena into point-instants and *dharmas* was true for the *samvrti* only and did not represent ultimate reality. In the *Nyāyamukha* (tr. Tucci, 50) he opposes the *sāmānya* cognised by inference to the *svalakṣaṇa* apprehended by perception, and the *lakṣaṇa*, we are told (ib., 53), consists of many *dharmas*. This reminds me of Aśvaghōṣa's phrase (*Saundarananda*, xvi, 48) that the elements must be considered *sāmānyataḥ svena ca lakṣaṇena*, "with respect to their general and

specific characteristics." In fact Dinnāga's view is that perception apprehends only the *viśeṣas* of an object, as opposed to Prāsaṣtapāda's doctrine that bare perception, *ālocanamātra*, 'gives' *svarūpa*, that is, both the *viśeṣas* and the *sāmānya*. The standard illustration of perception in the *Nyāyabindu*, that of *nīla*, is perhaps significant; for according to the dogmatists the object, *viśaya*, of each sense was divided into a number of primary varieties, *nīla* being one such of *rūpa*. It looks therefore as if the specific characteristic apprehended by perception consisted of the *dharma*s making up one of these primary varieties. *Arthakriyā* again indicates that it is this first moment in perception alone which is effective and that it is so as determining our attitude to the object, whether of attraction or repulsion; it is therefore a correction the *Nyāya* view on this point and is *paramārthasat*, because on the plane of *samvrti* the point-instant alone is real and everything else intellectual construction. How far later Buddhist logicians developed Dinnāga's theories on this aspect of perception seems to me a matter for further enquiry and on more rigorous lines than those followed by Professor Scherbatsky, whose views about the thing-in-itself should for the present be regarded with much reserve.

The above discussion suggests the one obvious weakness in his equipment, a certain blindness to the historical development of ideas. This is plainly visible in his attribution to the earliest Buddhism of the *dharma* theory as set out in the *Abhidharmakośa*, and equally to my mind in his assumption that the form which the Sāṃkhya system took in the classical period was already fully present in its original formulation. Buddhist philosophy and logic took many generations of laborious thinking to work out, and we cannot hope to understand either completely unless we are alive to the various steps by which they evolved. But the day for such understanding has hardly arrived yet, and will not do so till all the available texts are published and the higher criticism has been applied to them.

Though I have insisted on a side of the book which rouses a spirit of opposition in me, its real value is not impaired thereby, and I would observe that a work so powerful and so original cannot expect immediate and entire acceptance, and that it has advanced our knowledge to a degree that will take much time for assimilation. Our grateful recognition of the author's achievement will be best shown by a more prolonged critical consideration than I have been able to give it for the purpose of this review.

E. H. JOHNSTON,

THE MAURYAN POLITY. By V. R. RAMACHANDRA DIKSHITAR. Madras University Historical Series, No. VIII. 10×7 inches; pp. viii, 394. University of Madras, 1932.

The subject of the political institutions of the Mauryan dynasty is so well-worn, not to say threadbare, a theme, that nothing that is both new and true about it is to be expected except from specialists, and the author of these reprinted lectures, who is clearly no specialist, would have been better advised to keep to the beaten track and avoid controversial matter so far as possible. In the passages where he does so, he shows he can write sensibly

enough, and nothing is to be gained by discussing the disputed matters, on which his views seem to me demonstrably wrong. But it should be stated clearly that his contention that Aśoka was not a Buddhist is definitely incompatible with the evidence now available. If he had suggested on the strength of the edicts that we are mistakenly inclined to see too deep a gulf between Hinduism and Buddhism at that period, his view would have been worth considering; for it is possible to hold that Buddhism was not then regarded as further outside the Hindu fold than, say, the worship of Kṛṣṇa that must have been already in its early stages. Those who like speculation might even think that in Aśoka's reign Buddhism reached the parting of the ways and took the road which led both to its becoming a world religion and to its separation from Hinduism with the consequence of ultimate extinction in the land of its origin. I should also point out that no discussion of the Aśoka legends is of any value which ignores, as is done here and in another recent publication I have been reading, Przyluski's now famous book on the subject, in which the original authorities are translated from the Chinese and brilliantly interpreted.

Much space is given up in this book to a consideration—on faulty lines—of the date of the *Arthaśāstra* of Kauṭilya; as it is evidently not yet realised that there is no hope of arriving at a definite date till much more research has been done, it may be of use to mention those points which are fundamental. Firstly only two quotations in literature are of real importance; that from the *Pratijñāyauṅghan-dharāyaṇa*, assuming that the play is by a *kavi* of the first rank and that therefore it is Kauṭilya who is the borrower, gives us the upper limit, the author of the play being acquainted with Aśvaghōṣa's *Buddhacarita*. The lower limit is given by Śūra's *Jātakamālā*, but is unfortunately uncertain in its effect (I never said, *pace* the author, that *this* work of Śūra's was translated into Chinese in 434 A.D.) Next a stringent lexicographical examination is required for words such as *pustaka*, *nīrājana*, *nīvi*, etc., which seem to belong to a late period; the earliest occurrence of each word in other works or inscriptions should be noted. There may also be words which dropped out of use in a later period. Further all technical terms and their earliest use elsewhere should be examined. Thus *prakṛti* was evidently borrowed from that Sāṃkhya school, which postulated eight *prakṛtis* as the primary constituents of the individual. Any cultural indications, such as the use of war chariots, must by considered. Finally, detailed comparison is necessary of the exact stage of Kauṭilya's political categories and legal conceptions. Important work has already been done in this last direction, but with inconclusive results for want of bearing in mind that, while the *Arthaśāstra* is a unitary work, free from extensive interpolation, other legal and political works have had not the same fortune; much circumspection is required in drawing conclusions. The indications at present point to some date in the early centuries of our era, but it would be absurd to be dogmatic till some scholar of encyclopedic knowledge and sound judgment is prepared to spend years examining the evidence.

E. H. JOHNSTON

ENCYCLOPÆDIA MUNDARICA. By J. HOFFMANN, in collaboration with A. van EMELÉN. Vols. I-VII, A-J. 10×7½; pp. xv, 2145. Patna, Govt. Press, 1930-32. Rs. 48.

Of recent years considerable attention has been directed towards a group of languages spoken by three or four million people in the mountainous and jungle tracts between the Deccan and the Ganges valley. These are the Mundā or Kol languages. Attempts have been made to show their connection with languages further to the east, with which it has been alleged they form a so-called Austro-Asiatic group. On the other hand J. Przyluski, in a number of brilliant articles, has demonstrated that Sanskrit, and Indo-Aryan generally, borrowed at some early period a certain part of their vocabulary from languages of this family. In these circumstances it was regrettable that so little material concerning these interesting, but rapidly disappearing, languages had been collected. Indeed the only considerable collection was Campbell's Santālī-English Dictionary. But in 1929 there began to appear the Santāl Dictionary of P.O. Bodding, which marks a considerable advance on that of Campbell. And now, before that has been completed, there has come the exhaustive work of Father Hoffmann on a Mundāri dialect closely akin to Santālī. This work, of which half has been published, is both dictionary and encyclopædia. The importance of these long articles both for linguist and for anthropologist cannot be over-estimated. Not less important for both is the volume of illustrations which has already appeared; nothing so instructive as this has appeared since Sir George Grierson's famous pioneer work in his *Bihar Peasant Life*. If in the remote past Indo-Aryan borrowed from the Mundā languages, in more recent times these languages have been penetrated through and through with the vocabulary of their Indo-Aryan speaking neighbours. In many cases Fr. Hoffmann has indicated this, though there remain a considerable number of words certainly of Indo-Aryan origin which he has left unexplained. On the other hand he often makes comparisons with the Dravidian languages, Oraon and Tamil. These have not much probative value: Oraon is an uncultivated language greatly penetrated by Mundā elements, while Tamil cannot safely be used by itself in attempting to establish original connection between Primitive Mundā and Primitive Dravidian. No such comparisons will have much value until the comparative grammar of the Dravidian languages is made. Singhalese, which the author classes as Dravidian, is of course Indo-Aryan, though it contains a considerable number of Dravidian and especially Tamil loanwords.

In a work of this character and of this high scientific value it appears out of place to insert homilies on Roman Catholic doctrine, such as that on Marriage and Evolution, pp. 193-201, especially when the cost of production is borne by Government.

At the present rate of production we may hope for the conclusion of this great work in a comparatively short time. When that time comes, may we ask the editors to place all readers, and especially anthropologists, under a still further debt of gratitude by adding a detailed index relating to the immense mass of anthropological material which the

encyclopædia contains, for at present there is no means of reference to a particular subject other than reading through the whole vast work or knowing the actual Mundāri word relative thereto.

R. L. TURNER.

LIVRO DA SETTA DOS INDIOS ORIENTAIS OF Fr. Jacobo Fenicio, S.J. Edited with Introduction and Notes by JARL CHARPENTIER, Ph.D. 10×6½ in.; pp. civ × 252. Upsala, 1933.

Fr. Jacobo Fenicio, who laboured in Southern India from 1584 to 1632, when he died at Cochín, appears to have been a man of rare intellectual attainments and energy. The discovery that a valuable anonymous manuscript in Portuguese preserved in the British Museum (Sloane MS. 1820) was written by him is due to Prof. Charpentier, who with the help of Fr. G. Schurhammer ingeniously traced its authorship. It is this MS. that has now been carefully edited with a very full historical and bibliographical introduction dealing with the growth of European acquaintance with India, and particularly with the early travellers and missionaries who have left records relating to its religious and social life. An interesting feature of Prof. Charpentier's researches has been the identification of Fr. Manoel Barradas as the probable channel through whom the information recorded by Fenicio reached, and was utilised by, Faria y Sousa, Baldaeus and Ildephonsus.

The notes alone are a veritable mine of bibliographical information, and the Index enables the reader to identify many names that appear in puzzling forms in the Portuguese text. Prof. Charpentier has rightly appraised the value of this manuscript, and our only regret is that it has not been found practicable to append, as originally projected, an English translation for the use of those not conversant with Portuguese.

INDIAN HISTORY FOR MATRICULATION, by K. P. MITRA, M.A., B.L. 7×4½ in.; pp. x + 365; 20 sketch maps and numerous text illustrations. Calcutta, Macmillan & Co., 1933.

To give within the limits of a little volume like this a connected survey of the history of the continent of India from prehistoric times down to the year 1932 is a task before which most scholars would quail, and Mr. Mitra deserves commendation for the degree of success attained. The test of such a work lies chiefly in the discrimination shown in the selection of matter for mention; and, on the whole, we think discretion has been suitably exercised in this respect. The author has endeavoured to deal impartially with the thorny questions of racial and religious differences that have so largely influenced the history of the continent. The book is not a mere list of events and dates; continuity of narrative has been steadily kept in view, and cultural and economic conditions have also received attention. The illustrations have been well chosen.

L'OEUVRE DE LA DÉLÉGATION ARCHÉOLOGIQUE EN AFGHANISTAN (1922-1932): 1, Archéologie bouddhique, by J. HACKIN. 10½×7½ in.; pp. 79; 61 figures. Tokyo, Maison Franco-Japonaise, 1933.

M. Hackin gives a brief summary (with references to the detailed reports hitherto published) of the results achieved by the French Archaeological Delegation at various sites in Afghanistan. The volume is illustrated by a number of excellently reproduced plates. These researches were initiated under the expert guidance of M. Alfred Foucher, and continued by MM. Godard, Hackin, Barthoux and others. Interest will centre chiefly perhaps round the discoveries at Bâmiyân and the quantity and character of the finds at Haḍḍa (the *Hi-lo* of Hsüan-tsang) some 5 miles south of Jalālābād (the ancient Nagarāhāra), specimens of which are now on view in the Musée Guimet, Paris. It may be said that the stuccos recovered from the latter site have revealed a development of 'Greco-Buddhist' art of which the sculptures of Gandhāra and Udyāna previously known to us give no conception. Here we have not the traditional, almost stereotyped figures of Gandhāra, but figures evidently of actual living types—of local rulers perhaps, of the uncultured inhabitants of the surrounding regions, of 'Scythians' that may have followed a Kadphises or Kanishka, and possibly of Hūnas and even Mongols. Attention is drawn to the affinities of certain figures with examples of Grecian sculpture in the museums of Europe; and some of the work reminds us forcibly of Gothic and medieval art. One is tempted indeed to speculate as to what artistic developments might have been achieved in this region had they not been suppressed by the inroads and devastations of the Hūnas, and later of the armies of Islām. Short accounts are given of the excavations at Pāitāvā and Begrām, near the modern Charikar, and of the sculpture, paintings and fragments of MSS. found in and around the grottoes at Bâmiyân. Here and in the vale of Kakrak nearby, and again at Dokhtar-i-Noshirwān, about 80 miles farther north, we meet with much evidence of Sasanian influence. The dearth of finds at Balkh and its vicinity has been described and explained by M. Foucher elsewhere.

MEDIEVAL TEMPLES OF THE DAKHAN, by H. COUSSENS. A. S. I. Imperial Series, vol. XLVIII. 13×10 in.; pages iii×85; map, 114 plates and 17 illustrations in the text. Calcutta, Govt. of India Press, 1931.

This volume deals chiefly with temples in the Thāna, Khāndesh, Nāsik, Ahmadnagar, Sātārā and Sholāpur districts of the Bombay Presidency, in Berar and at Aundha in H. E. H. the Nizām's Dominions which date from the period of the Yādava rulers and their feudatories, to which the term Hemādpanṭi has been rather indiscriminately applied. The descriptions contain more detail than is given in Burgess's *Lists* prepared in 1885 and revised by Mr. Cousens himself in 1897. Of the plates, 63 are reproductions of photographs of the temples, etc., while 51 are plans and drawings of particular features. Many of the photographs are wanting in definition of detail, which may be due to weathering and crumbling of the stone (amygdaloidal trap) generally used, or to inexpert photography or perishing of the negatives, or perhaps to a combination of these causes.

In an Appendix on Purī, the ancient capital of the Śīlāhāras named in several inscriptions, the site of which has not yet been satisfactorily determined, Mr. Cousens suggests that remains traceable about a mile to the north of Marol village on Sālsette Island

probably mark the situation of this town; but the reasons given do not appear to be convincing.

C. E. A. W. O.

BULLETIN DE L'ÉCOLE FRANÇAISE D'EXTRÊME ORIENT, Tome XXXI, Nos. 3 & 4. Pp. 355+709; 83 plates and 40 illustrations in text. Hanoi, 1932.

The perusal of an issue of this fine publication always affords both pleasure and instruction. Among the contents of the present number is a paper, lavishly illustrated by good plates and drawings, by M. J. Y. Claeys on "The Archaeology of Siam", which will be of special interest to our readers in view of the references to Indian influences. The difficulty of presenting a comprehensive account of the evolution of architectural design in Siam is enhanced by the invasions of different races to which the country has been subject. M. Claeys gives a brief historic survey of the varieties of art that are represented in the extant remains. The implements of neolithic age resemble those found throughout the Indo-Chinese peninsula. The early colonists from India, who carried with them their religion and culture, probably met with aborigines of Indonesian type, such as are found in modern Cambodia and S. Annam. These colonists seem to have come from the east coast of India, judging from the type of characters used in the early inscriptions. From Chinese sources we first hear of the extensive kingdom of Fou-nan; and some idea of its art is probably to be had from certain statues found at Śrī T'ep. 'Primitive Khmer' art was introduced from Kamboja, which absorbed Fou-nan, while about the same time in the NW. corner of the gulf was developed what has been called 'the art of Dvāravātī', which is exemplified as far north as Lamp'un. The influence of Buddhism then becomes marked, and we notice affinities with the Gupta art of India. From the 7th century the influence of the Śrīvijaya power is seen, e.g., at sites on the Malay peninsula; and characteristics of Indo-Javanese and Cham art are noticed. Khmer inspiration comes with the western extension of Cambodian power from the 10th to 12th centuries. Meanwhile the T'ais were filtering into the Menam valley, and in the 13th century had established themselves at Sukhot'ai, Lamp'un and C'heng Mai. It is the school of Sukhot'ai, where Khmer and T'ai architecture became blended, that has handed down the classical type of the Siamese image of the Buddha. Thence also developed the architectural and sculptural types now known as Siamese. M. Claeys points to the architectural resemblance between (1) the Mahābodhi temple at Bodh Gayā and (2) that at Pagān, and (3) the Wat Cet Yot at C'heng Mai, suggesting that Bodh Gayā influence passed to Pagān and thence overland to C'heng Mai. Incidentally, we notice certain features of the Wat Mahāthāt at Savank'alok (v. Pl. LXIX and Pl. LXXI) that also remind us of the Bodh Gayā temple, at all events before its "restoration" (completed 1884), e.g. the doorways, one above the other, on two stages, the eight stages of the central tower (there were eight tiers of niches above the terrace at Bodh Gayā), and the stone railing that surrounds the enclosure.

C. E. A. W. O.

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TO

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